

# U.S.I. JOURNAL

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The Silent War in Tibet  
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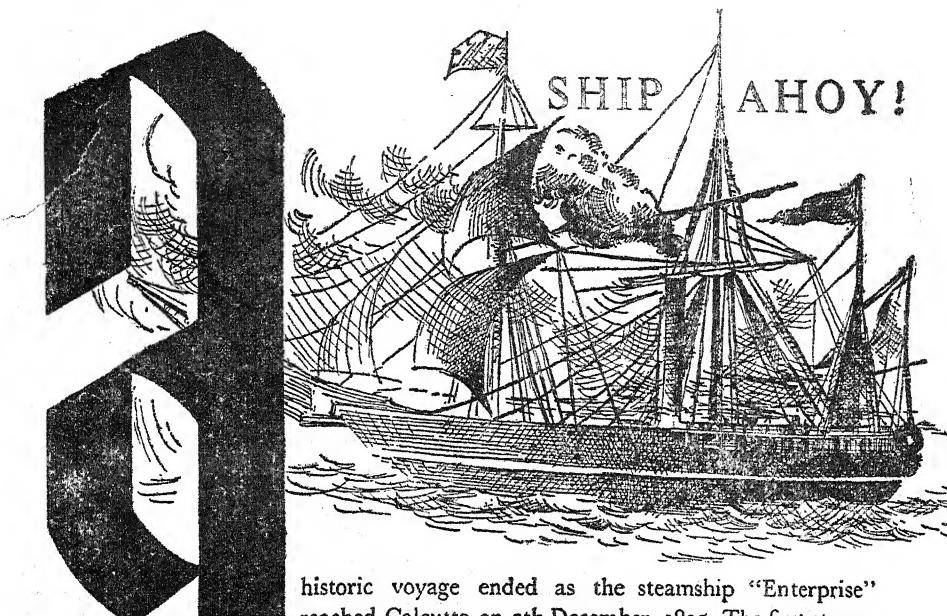
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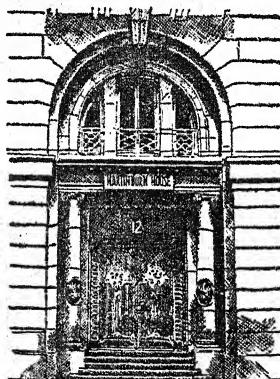
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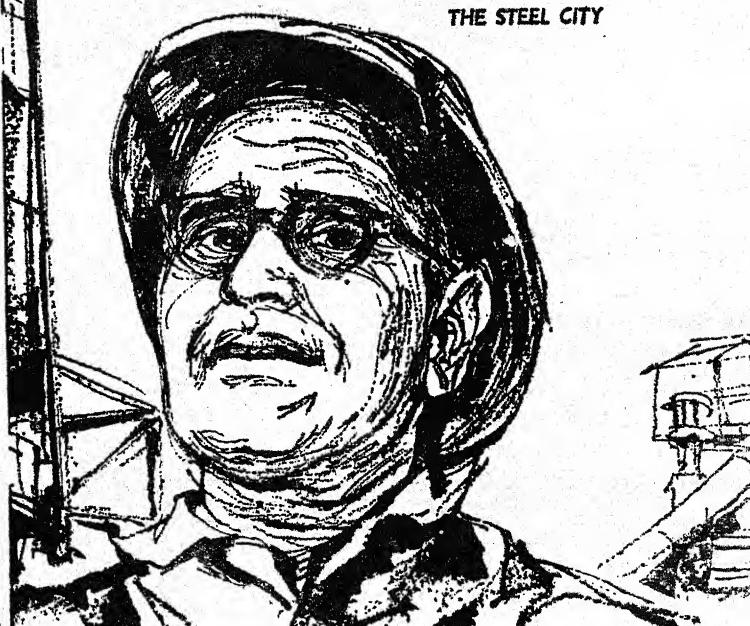
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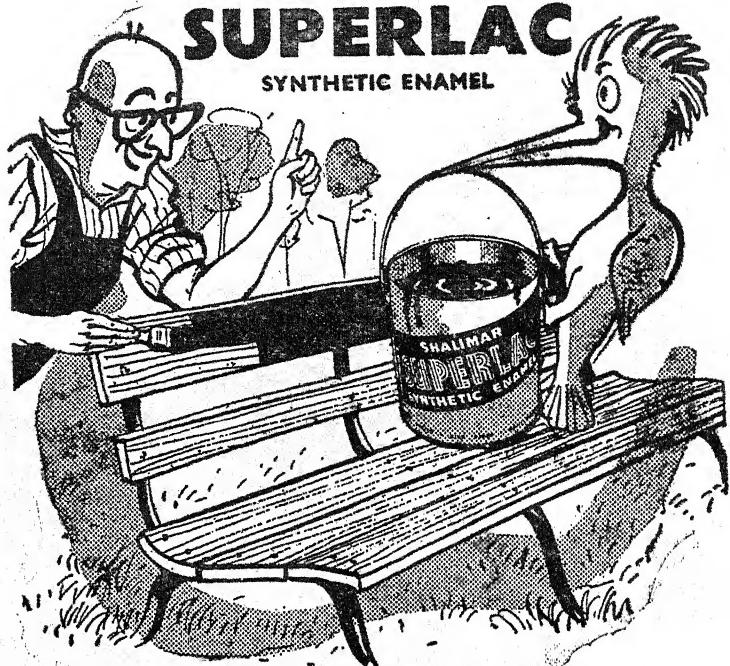
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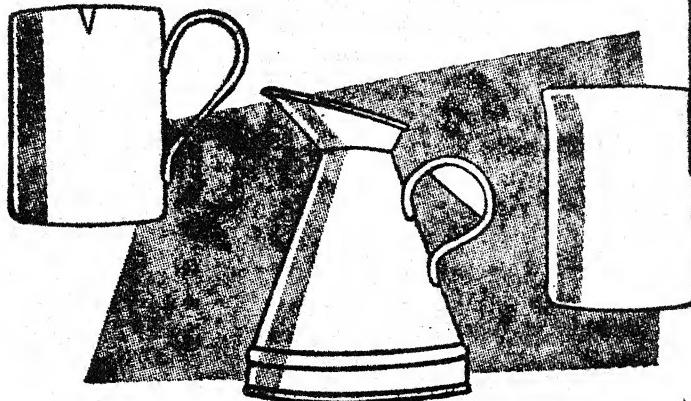
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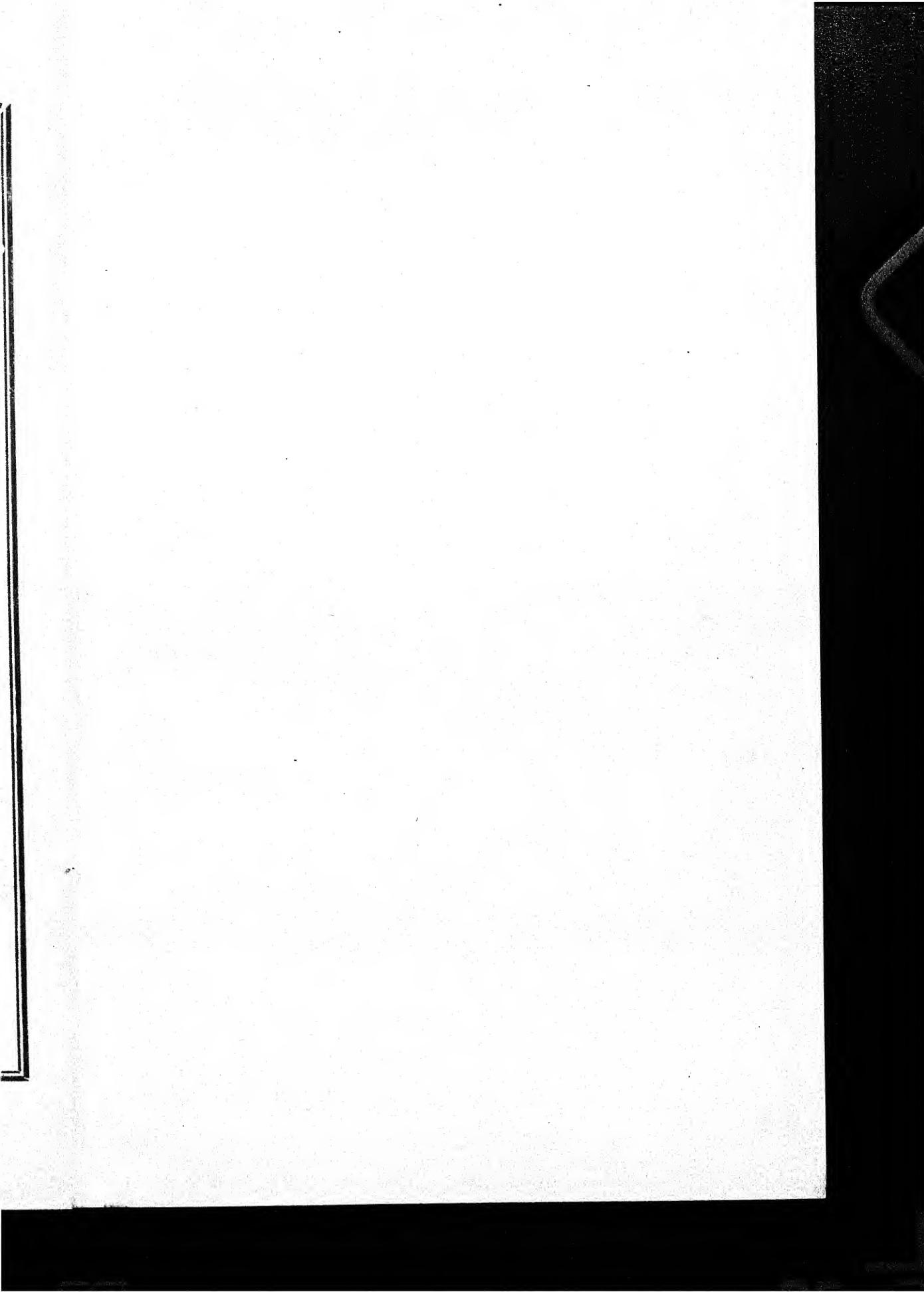
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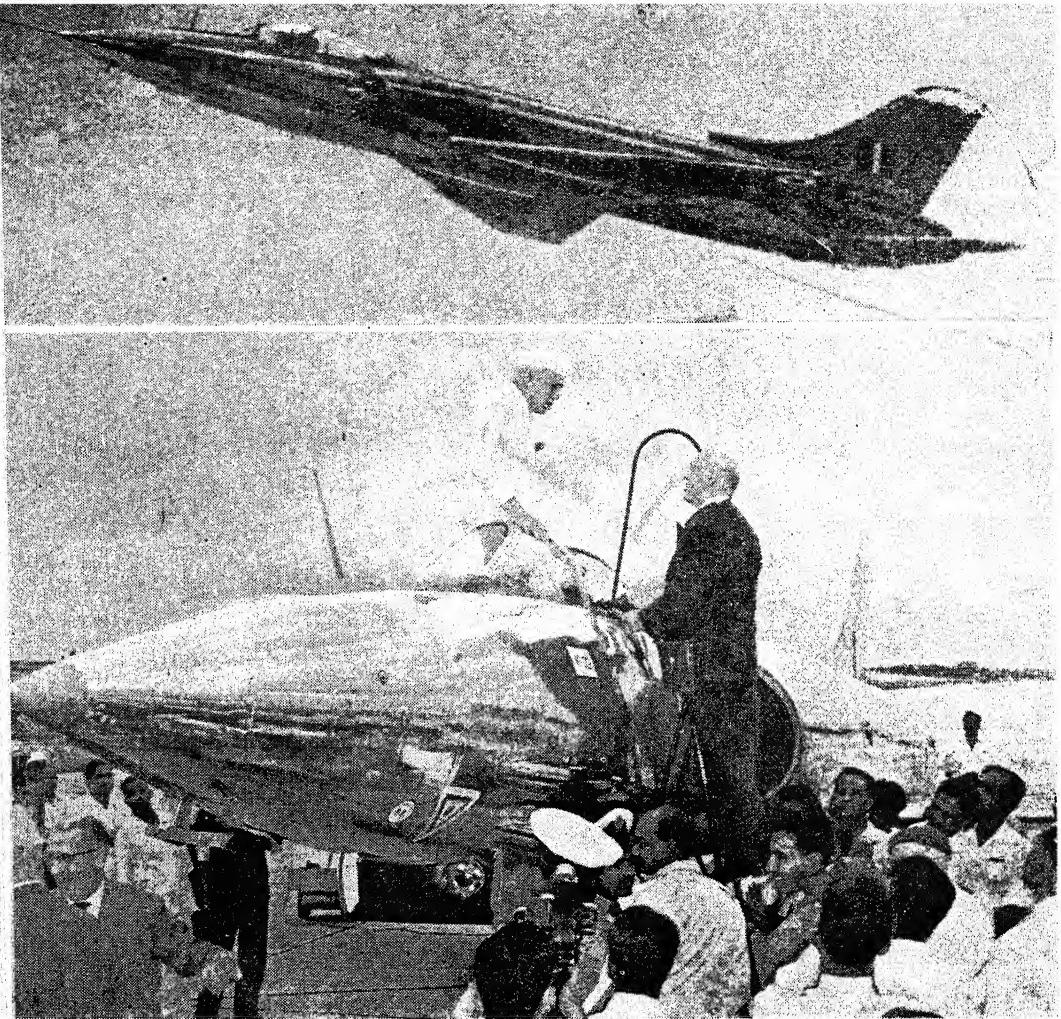
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The successful trial flight of India's first supersonic aircraft—the HF-24 (top picture)—on June 24, 1961, marked a new era in the development of the country's aircraft industry.

The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and earlier the Defence Minister, Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, visited the H.A.L. Factory to witness the trial flights and congratulate the Chief Test Pilot, Wg. Cdr. S. Das, the Chief Designer, Dr. Kurt Tank and others associated with the design and the development of the HF-24.



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## EDITORIAL

HF-24

**N**ONE would gainsay the fact that few developments of recent times have evoked greater attention and added to the country's prestige abroad than the inaugural test flight of India's first supersonic aircraft HF-24 in June this year. This initial success, though of far-reaching significance, must be taken with the utmost humility and caution, for a great deal of work still remains to be done before the aircraft is ready for further development, operational trials and goes into production to feed India's frontline fighter squadrons. But restraint need not imply that there is any lack of confidence in the aircraft.

The HF-24 has drawn some most thoughtful remarks by aviation experts everywhere, especially outside India. There is little doubt that its impact on Indian aviation, aircraft industry and on the Air Force would be felt with greater force as the development and production of the aircraft makes headway. A flying equipment of this calibre, produced by indigenous skills and resources would, to say the least, bring about a far-reaching change in the country's economy apropos its air defence.

The design of HF-24 was started in May 1956 with a design team headed by Dr. Kurt Tank, a German aircraft designer of great fame and experience. There were 18 other German engineers and three Indian senior design engineers and about 22 other design engineers with design experience. The preliminary glider trials started two years ago and by then new designers had been recruited for this work. The prototype assembly work was seriously started in April 1960 and it was finished in 11 months—a record time for such an aircraft in our conditions. The first prototype ground trials were started in February and March 1961.

This aircraft MK I version is supersonic in straight and level flight and it will be double supersonic, i.e., it will fly at twice the speed of sound in straight and level flight in the MK II version. The present engines are Bristol Orpheus 703—two in each aircraft. The MK II version will have more powerful engines.

It is only right that India which had taken the pioneer and unconventional step by acquiring, way back in 1948, the Vampire jets for its Air Force and thereby had become the first Asian country to associate itself with the jet age should now be the first Asian country to identify itself with the supersonic age. With it, the country also becomes the sixth member of a small and exclusive band of industrial countries capable of producing supersonic aircraft.

The Air Force may well share the credit with many others closely associated with the design and development of the HF-24. Apart from loaning the services of the Chief Test Pilot, 41-year old Wing Commander S. Das—a distinguished and experienced flier—the Service is likely to have the decisive voice in the future development and perhaps every other stage of the evolution of the HF-24, as it will be the main user of this aircraft.

It is gratifying to note that for the first time, our Canberra interdictors have been flown to the Congo to preserve peace in that strife-torn land, albeit an additional commitment straining the limited resources of the Indian Air Force.

A specific request for Canberra aircraft was made to India by the United Nations some days ago and a decision was taken accordingly. The Canberra interdictors, which are armed only with machine guns, will provide air support to the UN troops in the Congo. Because of the vastness of the country and the long distances separating air bases there, these Canberra interdictors are considered the most suitable aircraft for the purpose.

# THE ECONOMIC WAR POTENTIAL OF THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

By MAJOR EDGAR O'BALLANCE

TO wage war independently for any length of time a World Power must possess several important assets. All may not agree that Red China is yet a World Power in this respect, but all must admit that whilst her voice does not dominate the Council Chambers of World Conferences, her shadow hovers in the background, growing the while at a fantastic rate.

The economic factors essential to enable a country to wage war are sufficient manpower, sufficient food, natural mineral resources, technical ability and good internal communications. Other factors are also desirable, or even necessary, but if they are not present they are not such a crippling handicap as would be the lack of any one of the five major ones just mentioned. Few countries, even the large ones, have all these five assets in abundance and as a result, when considering defence, are forced into uneasy alliances or coalitions because one country may have a surplus of what another lacks.

Has Red China all these five major assets, and is she capable of waging war independently?

As regards the last mentioned one, the communication picture has been briefly examined, and found to be both flimsy and unsubstantial. The deduction being that they would severely restrict Red China from taking protracted offensive action against a World Power.

But what about the other factors, manpower, food, natural mineral resources and technical ability?

In the Korean War, Red China had to lean very heavily upon Russia, and she still does to a large extent. Does this mean then, that she could not fight without Russia's consent, active assistance and backing? Let us see.

## MANPOWER

The first military essential, manpower, can be dismissed very briefly because Red China has so much. Her population has been estimated to be about 650 million, and moreover is increasing by between 12 and 15 million a year. Experts say that at this present rate the population will rise by 100 million every 7 years or so, and that by 1980, for instance, it will exceed 1,000 million.

It seems that this trend of a rapidly rising population will continue, at least for a while. A birth control campaign was advocated in 1956, but after some hesitation it was eventually decided that Red China would be able to develop industry and allow the population to increase naturally at the same time, without lowering the standard of living. Whether she will still be of the same mind in a few years time, when she is bursting at the seams with people, whom she cannot perhaps feed, this policy may change.

However, at the moment, and for some time to come, she certainly has ample manpower, and it is perhaps because of this that she boasts that she alone of the major powers is not afraid of nuclear war. But vast manpower is no military asset by itself.

## FOOD

One of the most difficult problems of war is to feed the civil population at a time when so much energy and material are drained off into other channels. Especially is this so when the population is large, or when a proportion of the food consumed has to be imported, as Britain knew well in World War Two. A country in wartime which can feed its population from its own internal resources is in a strong military position.

At the moment the food imports and exports of Red China are negligible, and the people live on what is produced within the country. In fact, the whole economy of Red China rests upon agriculture, but in general her techniques in this sphere are backward and her yields are low, with the result that the standard of living is poor. It is true that the average Chinese has enough to eat—but only just enough—there is little surplus.

In spite of lofty pronouncements from Peking and boasts of agricultural improvements and achievements, one can detect that the planners are more than slightly worried by the acutely rising population, and are faced with the problem of trying to raise the output to keep pace with the increasing number of mouths to feed.

Red China consists of just under 4 million square miles but of this vast area less than 20 per cent is cultivated, the remainder being mainly swamp, mountain, forest or desert. This small percentage may, of course, be gradually increased, but there is an eventual limit to such expansion.

The cultivated land lies mainly in the valleys, on the plains and along the coastal areas where the bulk of the population is crowded. Pre-World War II it was estimated that the average 'farm' was less than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres in size (compared with 77 acres in Britain and 157 acres in America), and that this uneconomical trend continued until 1958, when the bulk of the peasants were herded into Communes. Today, experts estimate that there is slightly less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of cultivated land available to produce food for each Chinese, and this is decreasing as the population swells.

Ninety per cent of this farmland is under intense cultivation, which means that it maintains few large domestic animals, although China has always raised poultry and pigs in profusion. It was reported that there were only about 90 million large cattle in 1958, and that they were kept mainly for draught purposes. Meat is a luxury to most Chinese, and as a rule is only eaten in the north of the country, those in the south, along the coast and by the rivers having fish as a compensating item of diet.

The staple diet of the Chinese is grain in one form or another being either millet, wheat or rice, depending upon which part of the country they live in, and 90 per cent of the cultivated land is devoted to this. Yields are poor. The total grain output had sunk to 113 million tons in 1949, from a previous average figure in the region of 150 million tons. This was boosted up to 164 million tons by 1952, when the First Five Year Plan began, and increased to 194 million tons when it ended in 1957. Figures are suspect, I know, as Red China has juggled them so often to make her various points or excuses, but those may be as accurate as any others.

The Second Five Year Plan, now in progress and due to end in 1962, aims at doubling this output by means of fertilisation, irrigation and bringing more land under cultivation. In these spheres there is much scope, and Red

China is probably up to schedule, although the target figures were hastily revised shortly after it was put into operation.

In addition to the two Five Year Plans there is another, a Twelve Year Plan for agriculture which began in 1956, which has the object of both raising the existing output and of encouraging subsidiary crops, such as sunflowers, castor beans, tea plants, rubber, hemp, coffee, sugar cane, sugar beet, groundnuts and jute in the various parts of the country where such crops can grow. Also, Red China now produces about 4 million tons of cotton annually, which is just about enough for internal consumption.

It can be seen then that the production of food is being increased but it will be a neck and neck race to keep pace with the increasing population.

#### *Natural Mineral Resources:*

Raw material is required to produce the munitions of war, and if a country cannot provide it from her own natural resources, it, or the finished, or the partly finished, product has to be imported, which correspondingly reduces the war potential and increases the vulnerability. Heavy industry to function requires basically coal, iron, petroleum and copper.

Let us see what natural deposits of these, and other important materials, Red China has.

#### *Coal:*

Red China has never been completely surveyed and prospected for mineral resources, but this is now in progress, and there are some 4,000 teams out prospecting and surveying. That she has large deposits of coal of varying quality there is no doubt, but whether they exceed 50,000 million metric tons, as she claims no one can be quite sure. She claims to be the third largest coal producing country in the world, and that the largest open-cast mine in the world is at Fushun, in Manchuria. The main coal deposits are in Manchuria and the north, and whilst a few produce good quality coal, from others there is much low grade quality.

The coal produced in 1952 was in the region of 60 million tons annually, but the First Five Year Plan raised this to about 120 million tons. The Second Five Year Plan aimed at increasing it to over 200 million tons. This target has already been exceeded and as regards coal production, Red China can be thought of as being fairly well off, having and perhaps being able to produce sufficient to power heavy industry to manufacture munitions.

As regards subsidiary power, Red China is making efforts to harness her rivers but as yet her hydro-electric schemes are in their infancy, and their contribution will be negligible for some years yet.

#### **IRON**

Red China claims to have workable deposits of iron ore in the region of 12,000 million tons, three-quarters of which are located in Manchuria, but on the whole the metal content is low. Other new deposits have been found in Szechwan, Kwantung and Hainan.

About 1.35 million tons of steel was produced in 1952 (steel is iron combined with proportions of carbon) and the First Five Year Plan increased this to 5.8 million tons, which was not enough by any means for her normal domestic consumption even at her almost primitive level of existence.

(i)

Red China is acutely conscious of this deficit, and in 1958, the year of the Great Leap Forward, there was an intense campaign to increase production to 10 million tons, in which the "backyard furnaces" were given great publicity. It is claimed that at one time there were over 600,000 of them in operation, but they were wasteful and the quality of the steel was poor. There was the burning desire to exceed the annual steel output for Britain, which is about 20 million tons. Most of these backyard furnaces have disappeared and it is now planned to develop some 800 different steel producing centres in places situated near the raw supplies, and the wildly ambitious figure of 20,000 million tons is talked about. The target set for 1962 is 12 million tons, and there is some doubt as to whether it will be fulfilled. But the way, the output of America is about 102 tons annually.

As she is only at the moment capable of producing about one-tenth of the amount of steel produced by America, it means that she is only capable of producing about one-tenth of the quantity of munitions manufactured by that country in World War II, assuming, of course, that none is diverted to other purposes, which is by no means enough to face a World Power in modern warfare. In steel production Red China has difficulty in reaching her targets, and one at once suspects juggled figures. When she has re-organised her iron smelting works and steel mills production may improve, but no astronomical rise can be expected just yet.

#### OIL

Next, a country to activate its aircraft, tanks and vehicles, must have ample supplies of petroleum, and recently Red China has been wildly excited about her allegedly rich discoveries of oil deposits, which she claims, when fully developed, will produce about 100 million tons a year. This, although only about one-third the annual production of America, is considered to be over-optimistic.

There are several oil shales in Manchuria, a few of which have been worked for some years, the most important of which is at Fushun. Two new, allegedly very rich, oil fields have been discovered, one at Yumen, in Kansu, on the edge of the Gobi Desert, and the other at Karamai, in Sinkiang. It is claimed that oil in quality has been located in other parts of Kansu, in Szechwan, Chin-hai and on the borders of Inner Mongolia, which is being assessed and exploited.

In spite of these rosy prospects Red China is not being successful in her oil production, and fell short of her 1957 target figure of 2 million tons, only being able to produce some 1.4 million tons. This quantity is being increased, and she hopes by 1962 to be producing about 6 million tons. Her domestic needs are now in the region of 5 million tons, and any increase of lorries and tractors will inevitably cause it to shoot up. She has to export over two-thirds of her home consumption.

Such oil as she is producing, or is expecting to produce, is fairly low grade and unsuitable for aviation, which means that every drop of high octane fuel has to come all the way from Russia: Russia holds the string which activates the Red Chinese air force.

The deduction must be that Red China has not sufficient fuel oil to fight a modern war even a strictly defensive one as she is entirely dependent upon Russian generosity to move her tanks and MT, let alone fly her aircraft. Even if her allegedly large petroleum resources are developed to the hoped for maximum of 100 million tons a year, she would still not be able to fight any form of mechanised warfare unaided and alone for more than a few weeks.

### COPPER

This is held to be an essential ingredient in the manufacture of munitions and in industrialisation generally, and Red China has but tiny deposits—far from sufficient for her peace time needs. Her survey teams are hoping anxiously to strike more in quantity, but as yet no success has been reported.

Red China has to rely upon imported copper.

### OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES

Red China has a sprinkling of most of the other manufacturing metals, especially non-ferrous ones. She claims to have the largest deposits in the world of tungsten and molybdenum, and deposits of manganese, lead and aluminium are also extensive.

Red China alleges that rich deposits of uranium have been located in the Tien Shan Mountains, in Sinkiang, but few details have been made public.

The deduction as far as natural resources are concerned must be that whilst Red China has ample 'subsidiary' metals for her industries, and plenty of iron and coal, she lacks sufficient oil and copper.

### TECHNICAL ABILITY

Possessing the raw materials mentioned is of little use in itself unless the skill and knowledge is available to turn them into munitions and accessories of war. China had a late start as far as industry was concerned and had not really made much progress by 1912, when began a period of nearly 40 years of civil disorder and war. After World War Two, Russia promptly stepped in and dismantled the industrial complex in Manchuria, which had been set-up by the Japanese, so that in 1949, the new Communist Government was left with little but the crude rule of thumb cottage industries which produced small arms, mortars and ammunition that were born in emergency under the stresses and strains of war.

Red China has been striving desperately ever since to become an industrial nation, but as yet she compares unfavourably with even some of the smaller Western nations. In Red China the medium of labour is still predominantly the human being and not the machine, and whilst she can continue to exist at her almost primitive level of economy, it is problematic whether, should she gear her industry entirely to war production, it would be sufficient to enable her to put up a prolonged defence, let alone carry out offensive operations.

The Five Year Plans, from an industrial and organisational point of view, were copies of the Russian ones, applied to China, and they were in fact extremely successful in that they built up an industrial structure from practically nothing at all. Large scale planning, or indeed national planning of any sort, was something entirely new to China, and it could do no other than initially work wonders.

The First Five Year Plan aimed especially at developing heavy industry in the north and north-west, and re-starting the dismantled Manchurian plants. With Russian help progress was made, although the target figures had to be revised from time to time. By the end of 1957, Red China claimed that her heavy industry was getting on its feet again, and the Second Five Year Plan aimed at spreading and developing it.

In 1957, Red China claimed she had over 600,000 technicians, such as engineers and scientists, but it is not known whether this figure was strictly ac-

(i)

curate, or how skilled such as she had were. In addition, at this period a large number of Russian technicians had been lent to re-start or start various projects, perhaps as many as 20,000, and they were obviously the key personnel in the several industries. At one time there had been as many as 40,000 Russian technicians and advisors in Red China, but in 1956 they began to thin out as Chinese considered capable, having been trained in Russia or by the Russians, stepped to take their places.

In October 1956, the first "Liberator" lorries were produced, having been designed and produced by the Chinese, and now probably in the region of 20,000 a year are going out on to the roads of China.

In 1957, Red China began to design and build her own hydro-electric stations, small admittedly, and also her own shipyards, steel mills and diesel engine factories. In that year, the first trainer aircraft, the first tractors in any number, and the first oil tanker were produced almost entirely by the Chinese. The next year, the first cargo ship was completed at Darien.

As regards the manufacture of armaments, small arms, mortars and ammunition have been produced by the Chinese for years, as have been small field guns, but they have not yet got around to designing and producing their own tanks, fighter aircraft or large guns. Chinese prototypes of aircraft have appeared, it is true, but so far the tanks and other heavy armament is still Russian.

All radio, radar and precision instruments are still imported from Russia, as Chinese technicians do not yet seem to have acquired the necessary degree of skill in this sphere.

In the field of nuclear research the Chinese have attained a certain amount of knowledge, but it is not yet thought that they possess any nuclear weapons, or are yet capable of producing any just yet. Already, in 1954, there were 36 nuclear research stations set-up in Red China, staffed by Russians, with Chinese assistants, and this number has increased since. In July 1958, the first atomic reactor in Red China was put into operation. Others are reported to follow soon.

There are several rocket sites in Red China, manned by Russian experts, and Chinese technicians are being trained to service and handle them, but it is not anticipated that Red China will be capable of discharging rockets unaided for some years yet, or of producing unaided her own nuclear weapons.

#### RUSSIAN HELP

To complete the picture it will perhaps be fitting to give a brief resume of what help has been given to Red China by Russia to enable to develop her industrial potential to such an extent, so quickly. No other country has helped Red China in any material way.

From 1945-1949, Russia under-estimated Red China and gave her no help in the civil war she was fighting, and was probably quite surprised and startled to find her to be the eventual winner. She then eyed Red China with a new interest, and as the Cold War was developing, decided to step in to help her before any other large power became interested. Russia, it should be remembered, had already stripped callously Manchuria of all plant and machinery in 1945.

Russian-Red Chinese liaison began in February 1950, when a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was signed, and Russia granted a loan of over £100 million, at 1 per cent interest, to purchase materials and equipment to start up her industry, but this was not arrived at without hard bargaining on

both sides. The Korean War brought Russia and Red China closer together, and quantities of Russian war material were sent to Red China.

Red China was deeply concerned with initially establishing a number of key projects which would be in the nature of pilot schemes, from which she could build up her industrial complexes. She wanted Russian help to establish steel mills, oil refineries, chemical works, power stations, assembly plants, engine factories and open new mines. In September 1953, Russia agreed to help to build 141 of these large scale enterprises, or to re-construct them, and to give ample technical assistance. In October 1954, she agreed to help with another 15; in April 1956, another 55; in August 1958; another 47, and in February 1959, yet another 78 were promised, making in all just under 250 major enterprises of various essential kinds. About 100 were in operation by the end of 1958, and it is thought that perhaps half the total number have been completed.

Russia, as well as granting loans, also embarked upon a scheme to train Chinese technicians, both in Russia and Red China, and many thousands have qualified since.

#### SUMMARY

When considering the economic war potential of Red China one must constantly bear in mind the fact that she is a backward country with a low, even primitive, standard of living, that her claims of industrial progress cannot be checked, and that assuming they might be roughly accurate they still fall far below the average figures of the Great (or even Lesser) Powers.

Industrially, Red China has made great strides, having built up what she now possesses from practically nothing at all. This progress will continue, but more slowly as it reaches its ceiling. Her normal peacetime internal needs will quickly swallow up whatever she can produce in the industrial field, and there will be little surplus available for other channels.

It can be said that Red China's war potential is great, but balanced. She has ample manpower, but may run into difficulties in food production, she has ample coal, but steel production is painfully slow in developing, and she has not enough petroleum, nor enough copper to produce ammunitions for herself without external aid. Her prospecting teams may yet locate deposits of essential minerals which would improve her war potential considerably.

If Russian technicians were suddenly withdrawn, her progress, especially in the field of nuclear research, and of manufacturing precision instruments, would stand still, if not regress.

For fuel oils, especially high grade, Red China is completely dependent upon Russia, and is likely to be so for several years. Visions of whole corps of mechanised troops motoring across Sinkiang into Russia, or to the borders of other adjacent countries, such as India, or of motoring anywhere in large numbers, are illusions of a long while yet.

The policy of Red China will be to continue to filter forward on foot through the most difficult country she can find, avoiding the wide open spaces.

## OFFICER CAREER TRAINING

By Major M. R. P. VARMA

**T**HE aim of this short article is to examine our present scheme and sequence of training in relation to the career of the typical Indian Army officer. Now that the age and service structure of the officer cadre has attained its permanent maturity—with exceptions in certain specialised arms and services—it is opportune to inquire whether the existing career training arrangements remain appropriate in all respects and in relation to the experience level in future officers as they approach each rung of the Army ladder.

This article contains no criticism of the excellent training now being imparted at Army schools and colleges. Far from this: it is realised that our system has become through its own merits a model that has been adopted with suitable modifications by several other armies while many others derive immense benefit from sending their better officers to attend our training institutions. However, any Army worth the name is a progressive, dynamic organisation in which changes are taking place constantly to keep pace with scientific developments and effects on tactical doctrines.

Before examining certain features of our career training, mention is necessary of an important implied question carried in the policy regarding officer recruitment and its possible future modifications. Our officer intake today is very large. It has the obvious defects of retaining too many officers for too long in too junior ranks with the consequences of general career frustration and an enormous annual recurrent expenditure on non-effective pensions with a complete lacuna as far as a useful reserve of officers is concerned. Thus the question of officer policy is certainly open to re-examination and modifications would have immediate repercussions on officer career training. An alternative officer structure for the Defence Services—with the uncommon virtue of saving the country crores of ill spent rupees annually in addition to conferring military and national advantages—has already been propounded in this Journal.<sup>1</sup> It is recommended that the article be read in conjunction with the present one as the two have direct bearings on one another.

In this article technical, specialist and reserve of officer training are not dealt with since we are concerned here with the grooming of officers of all arms and services for possible eventual selection as formation commanders under the existing concepts of officer intake, age and service groups and career prospects.

The courses to be attended by officers from Second Lieutenant to Major are too well known to need recapitulation; this sequence, of courses, has served us extremely well for the past 14 years. Will they serve as well in the future? I say, they will not: some reorientation is required.

The first course that every young officer should attend—excluding his own technical courses—is the basic small arms course, or Weapons Course. I have only two suggestions regarding the excellent grounding imparted at Mhow. More time should be spent on the complete stripping down and practical repair of small arms. Secondly, elementary practical instruction in problems of ballistics, propellants,

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1. See "The officering of the Armed Forces" published in the January-March, 1959 issue of USI Journal

alloys and design must be included—Yes, at this stage: this country of ours will not produce a truly indigenous weapon of value in war until and unless the above average combatant General Staff Officer can understand the basic scientific problems involved.

The Junior Commander's Course (JC) comes in for sharp criticism, which I know is fairly widely shared. Criticism is not of the syllabus or the general conduct of the JC Course—it is an excellently run course full of value to the students. It is the conditions and composition of the course that set it awry. Firstly—things being what they are—almost every JC student's weather eye is set on the far off goal of becoming a 'Seventy-Five Chipper' for life, or most of his Army life. I refer to psc Qualification Pay and not the erstwhile price of an Army hack! I sat for the DSSC Entrance Examination over 10 years ago solely because some of the finest officers in the Brigade at the time—and I now regard most of them as amongst the finest officers in our Army—told me I should. Apart from not knowing what the Staff College was, Quetta being a word whispered in awe and Wellington having only just been established for three nominated courses, I cursed them all roundly before blessing them: I found the study a bore, irksome for a young Brigade Major in 4 Infantry Division and of no personal interest except for Military History which fascinated me even then. This blissful, blasé ignorance of this premier institution of the Services was far more healthy than that of the presentday young captain who, the day he crosses the lower bar of age, arms himself with a sheaf of moribund Army pamphlets in one hand, a sterile Army List in the other (oft held by his spouse!) and—Alas!—the minimum cram type text books on Military History that he calculates will get him by. Although I had a mere seven years of service and was two years below presentday age limits for the Staff College, I had commanded a rifle company in battle. Today, through no fault of theirs, most JC students have never commanded a company even on training for the JC Course is designed for officers having up to ten years service and few if any attain their majority these days before 12 or 13 years.

The young Infantry Captain needs a course all to himself where he might learn the considerable art of commanding a rifle company as part of his battalion working in co-operation with Armour, Artillery and the Air Force. Every other arm and service has this company commander equivalent course (Squadron or Battery in the Armoured Corps and the Artillery for example) but the basic arm of the Service is one amongst a motley of 'junior commanders'. True, the company commanders course suggested adds to the already formidable number of months spent away from the battalion—but why not cut out the wasteful staff attachment and the pampering Command Pre-Staff College Entrance Examination Coaching Course?

A new phenomena may be observed these days. The age limits for Staff College being what they are in relation to the service qualification for the substantive rank of Major, a situation has been reached where the brighter young officer may: pass the Staff College Examination before he has commanded a rifle company; attend a Staff College course; inevitably be posted to a 'graded staff appointment' (whatever this gilded term connotes!) since all this time he would have been on regimental duty with, perhaps a spell on ERE. He will then land back in his battalion with 17 years service but would not have commanded anything better than Support or Administrative companies as a Captain. By now our bright young officer example is perilously close to being nominated by the Military Secretary to attend the Senior Officers (SO) Course! If his unit is widely deployed —2:1 it will be—he may not even command a complete company before he is tested and tried for his fitness for command of a battalion!

Similarly, the SO Course used to be attended by acting Lt. Cols. who had commanded units already. On SO 28 recently no one had commanded a battalion, including myself. I found considerable difficulty in visualising the practical problems and intricacies that arise in battalion, as opposed to company, operations which will always be the difficulty of the officer who tries to be practical, learns by doing, looks beyond the pamphlets and has sincerely tried to develop in himself the empirical method that every good commander must have if he is to outwit his enemy in the field. This situation, if anything, aided the pamphlet reciters all of whom lacking essential command personality respects . . . at least until some of the excellently designed outdoor work at the School exposed them.

What are the ways out of the peacetime spread engulfing our middle-piece officers?

The JC Course should be split into a true Company Commanders Course for Infantry officers with Armoured Corps, Regiment of Artillery and young Air Force officers in each syndicate, and a Staff College aspirants course on the same lines as the present JC. Command pre-Staff College courses and the two months staff attachments should be abolished but it should be mandatory that every officer so desirous will be given his two months leave for study purposes. Even better would be the application to everyone of all arms and services of the AMC study leave rules. I, for one, would go off and study Military History and strategy under someone like Cyril Falls, Liddell Hart, etc.

The DSSC Entrance Examination should be made additional to the Part D Examination. The Staff College Course should be a junior one to make GSOs 3 and GSOs 2. Prior to attending the junior staff course it should be ensured that students have actually commanded rifle companies or the equivalent. The only way to do this is to appoint them brevet majors (or local) on the strength of their having passed into the Staff College and then leave them in a unit for one year,—i.e., those passing in 1962, become brevet majors, assume their posts as rifle company commanders or equivalent in typical field formations that include all arms and Air and attend the Staff Course commencing in 1963.

After the junior staff course, for which graduates should get the usual Rs. 75 per month qualification pay, every officer earmarked for advancement must attend a course at the School of Land/Air Warfare. There should also be interchanges of officers between different fighting arms and between the three Services.

The selection of officers for the substantive rank of Lt. Col. is a matter for the utmost care and deliberation for not only is it this rank that confers on individuals the greatest pensionary benefit but it is the correct level of sifting and sorting out those officers who will continue to rise and impart character and substance to the Army from the remainder who will retire in the normal course of events. I recommend that there should be a separate Senior Officers' School under a Major General and that the No. 2 Selection Board should assemble at that School to deliberate on each batch of students. The syllabus of the School should be very similar to that of the present SO Course with in addition all the administrative and staff matters that a Lt. Col. needs to know within a field division. The idea of bringing No. 2 Selection Board to the School is to infuse life and reality into this high powered body which at present carries out only paper transactions without seeing or interviewing officers, with consequent dissatisfaction of those who are not selected! I advocate that the observation techniques worked out by our Selection of Personnel organisations should be incorporated after suitable validation of their suitability for assessing mature officers. We must maintain the present objective,

confident attitude that characterises the SO Course and avoid any recurrence of the stultifying tension that was the lot of early SO Course students.

The selection of officers for a command and staff course similar to that of Leavenworth will eventually become necessary as our defence responsibilities widen out for the present the Staff, SO and the National Defence College courses fill our needs adequately. Incidentally, officers should be eligible for a second Rs. 75 Higher Qualification Pay when they pass the SO barrier.

#### CONCLUSION

To summarise the merits of the above proposals: firstly, a premium is not only put on regimental duty as such but on regimental duty in command of a rifle company or equivalent at the right young age for the brighter young officer. Secondly, the modified Staff College syllabus will be more appropriate to the experience, service and career expectations of the officer. Thirdly, some of the Staff College teachings will be brought forward, either to the SO School or a future Command and Staff course, to a time when the student officer is more likely to use it. Fourthly, selection for Lt. Col. rank will become more discerning, more objective and possibly less fallible than at present—it will certainly become more convincing to those who don't make the grade! Finally, by attending a course of broader curriculum at the SO School, the future senior officers of the Army will derive greater benefit than at present on the SO Course where the service, experience and individual ability of officers is very disparate.

## HIGH COMMAND IN PEACE AND WAR

By Brigadier D. K. PALIT, Vr C

UNTIL recently, very few books were available to the general reader on such problems as high command in war and civil-military relations in strategic spheres. It is surprising that even after two world wars, so little had been written on such a vast and vital subject. The two books at present being reviewed\* fill a vacuum that has existed for more than fifty years.

The two volumes on *Supreme Command* in the First World War are the personal memoirs of Lord Hankey, who as Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence and later as "Chief of Staff" to the War Cabinet, remained at the centre of the great politico-military upheavals of 1914-18. The second book traces the history and the growth of the Committee of Imperial Defence from the 19th century, and in fact takes the story beyond the inter-war period to Churchill's Chiefs of Staff system and the Defence Cabinet, and finally to post-war organisations. It is, in fact, a history of nearly a hundred years of high command organisation. Since the C.I.D. did not, in fact, come into existence until 1904, and that existence formally ceased in 1946, it is clear that the author ranges more widely than the title of the book suggests—and, in fact, this book is a study of the entire structure of British defence organisation at its highest level throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

The lack of coordination between the two Services, and between the Services and other ministries, during the latter half of the 19th century, particularly during the Boer war, comes as a revelation to the modern reader, used to the bureaucratic over-centralisation of the present era. The compartmentalised responsibilities of the Navy and the Army, the lack of a general staff system, and the aristocratic condescension of the Establishment toward "upstart" industrial magnates contributed mainly to this state of affairs. Even the reforms of the Secretary of State for War, Lord Cardwell, during Gladstone's great Cabinet of 1868-1874, did not completely solve the situation by making the Secretary responsible for all army matters as the definite superior of the Commander-in-Chief, for he did not succeed in removing the powerful influence of the Duke of Cambridge, who was so strongly backed by his cousin, the Queen.

As for the Admiralty, it was better organised than the Army throughout the nineteenth century, and its traditions as the nation's first line of defence ran much deeper than the Army's. It was not eyed with suspicion by the politicians, it was better equipped for its tasks, and was hampered neither by royal influence nor by bitter quarrels among its own leaders. Its officers received better training, and served more actively with the fleet, and not *in absentia* as did many of the army's senior commanders. Its superior prestige *vis-a-vis* the Army was confirmed in the Articles of War themselves. And under the towering personality of Admiral Lord Fisher the Royal Navy was a law unto itself—even in Cabinet circles.

The task of coordination which faced the reformers was threefold: first, and most obvious, between the fighting Services; secondly, between these and the civil departments; and lastly, between Great Britain and the Dominions.

Professor Johnson's study is mainly concerned with the advantages of civilian control over the military. In a democracy, civilian authority alone is

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*The Supreme Command, 1914-18* (Two volumes) (George Allen & Unwin; London 1961  
Price £ 4/4/- pp 906).  
*Defence by Committee* by F.A. Johnson (Oxford University Press 50 sh.)

responsible to the nation. More than that, in any state—whether democratic or not—it is *only* the politicians who can weigh up all the factors, military, economic, psychological, demographic and political, which constitute the national interest and the national potential. Disregard of these essential principles nearly brought the nation to disaster in the Boer War; and it was Britain's good fortune that the Boer War, while in no way threatening her survival as a Power, was sufficiently traumatic to precipitate military reforms of a kind which are normally undertaken by nations only after more catastrophic defeats.

In the course of these reforms, the Committee of Imperial Defence came into being.

The main importance of the C.I.D. as it was first organised was that it had a permanent Secretary and a permanent secretariat where, for the first time, records and minutes of discussions and decisions were maintained. It was now an independent body, with an infinitely elastic membership—parliamentarians, dominion dignitaries, soldiers and sailors, individuals from all walks of life—and the Prime Minister was the only member *ex officio*. It was dependent on neither of the fighting Services, and could make plans independently.

It is apparent that the achievements of such a Committee were necessarily limited; it merely provided a form of discussion where the views of the various agencies involved in the planning of national defence policy could be expressed. But it nevertheless was a channel of inter-departmental communication; furthermore, it was a mechanism for providing prompt and accurate information, and for ensuring that decisions, once taken, were carried out.

To Lord Hankey, as the first Secretary of the Committee, goes the credit for maintaining the *War Book*, which was mainly responsible for the fact that Britain entered both world wars stripped for action and prepared in a multitude of details—such as censorship, manpower and labour policy, allocation of supplies and raw materials, and a number of important matters which can never be left for the eleventh hour.

How much, precisely, did the C.I.D. have to do with the conduct of either World War? This is a question which the reader naturally expects to be answered in these books, but he will be disappointed. It must be borne in mind that the records of the C.I.D. are still secret, and do not play a part in either book here reviewed. It is only the organisational functions of the C.I.D. on which the authors are able to comment. But one or two things are made clear in spite of the *War Book*, no preparations were made for the mobilisation of men for the 1914-1918 war; no general agreement between naval and army plans was agreed upon until after the start of that war. These are two glaring shortcomings which the C.I.D. failed to overcome until well after the opening of hostilities.

The decision to send an expeditionary force to France, for instance, was hastily taken by an ad hoc "council of war" hastily summoned by Asquith on the afternoon of August 5th. Thereafter the conduct of the war can rightly be described as chaotic, until Lloyd George firmly took control and substituted a dictatorial war cabinet run by himself.

The inter-war years witnessed further attempts to organise the high command system, and though preparations for inventorying and mobilisation of resources were now made adequate and thorough, gradually a vast maze of sub-committees, over which the bewildered Sir Thomas Inskip presided, came into existence. It was the existence of these numerous sub-committees which was the

main reasons for the failure to form an effective Ministry of Defence—or even, for the failure to create a Ministry of Production and a Ministry of Supply.

The real contribution of the C.I.D. was that it led to the creation, by Lloyd George, of the secretariat of the War Cabinet, in 1916 (which included the indispensable Hankey), and which was the forerunner of the present Cabinet Secretariat system.

The C.I.D. also eventually gave birth to the Chiefs of Staff Committee in 1923. It was this body which made possible for the first time an agreed inter-Service strategy, and which played so important a part in the planning and conduct of the Second World War.

The original C.I.D. organisation can also claim some of the credit of having paved the way for the emergence, in each World War, of a powerful Prime Minister who was prepared to use to the full the enormous latent powers of his office. Both Lloyd George and Churchill were able, by careful pruning and trimming, to create an effective wartime machinery.

Lord Hankey's two volumes form an excellent companion for Professor Johnson's more serious study of this subject—as far as the First World War is concerned. It is anecdotal in style, and afford many personal glimpses of the leading characters—often for the first time. In 1918, for instance, Hankey asserts that Milner and Wilson discussed the possibility of withdrawing the whole army from France, if France cracked up—a proposal with which Hankey entirely agreed.

It is interesting to study the antithetical personalities and temperaments of Lloyd George and Hankey—the one all Celtic fire and volatility, the other unraffled, the "compleat" English Civil Servant. Yet they coalesced in one of the great partnerships of history. Each responded to the challenge of calamity by discovering, and helping the other to discover, new sources of strength.

Perhaps the most surprising story in Lord Hankey's book is one which concerns himself.

"Lloyd George discussed every alternative for the post of First Lord and had evidently decided to get rid of Carson by the simple expedient of "booting him up to the War Cabinet. . . . Perhaps unwisely I asked him if he had ever thought of me in this connection. . . ." It took a great Cabinet Secretary, and a man of supreme self-assurance, to make that proposal without absurdity.

These two volumes by Lord Hankey are a true classic of its kind, to be ranked with Churchill's *The World Crisis* as the outstanding story of the First World War.

## ARE THE COMING DECADES DANGEROUS?\*

By SISIR GUPTA

**W**ITH the achievement of freedom by the countries of Asia and Africa, the focus in their politics has shifted from the problem of colonialism to the problem of consolidating freedom. The broad urge for freedom and the struggle against alien rule had naturally become the only concern of political movements in this region and many vital tasks in the sphere of economics, politics and social progress have come to attract attention only in the post freedom years. The most pressing of these problems is the consolidation of these new States into emotionally integrated nation-States. As the Prime Minister of India has said, this task is even more important than planning and economic development. It is an undeniable fact that the nationalist upsurge in most of these countries was largely a negative phenomenon and the positive aspects of nationalism needed to be cultivated with greater caution and perseverance. Behind the political unity of most of these States has been the diversity in language, culture and traditions of the various groups which constitute such countries.

As the goal of national independence was achieved two different pressures began to be felt in the new nations: In the first place, the expectations of the people for a higher standard of life tended to rise faster than governmental capacities to fulfil them. Secondly, the relative stagnation in the economic field encouraged the existing divisive forces and weakened the sense of unity. According to competent political analysts, it is this phase which constitutes the "most dangerous decades" for the new nations of Asia and Africa—"those decades after an under-developed country has discovered progress, or the hope of progress, but before progress comes rapidly enough to satisfy rising aspirations." It can hardly be the solution for such stupendous problems as the countries of this region are now faced with to try to limit popular urges or to plan to keep intact the traditional apathy of the people. The solution must be found in terms of achieving an emotional integration of the various constituent groups within the framework of a developing economy.

India in one sense presents the most fascinating example of the tremendous political pressures generated by the inter-connection of such forces. In fact, the history of the last few years of political developments in this country is largely the history of our struggle for and against unification. Within a decade of our freedom, a new dynamism has been realised in Indian society and there are greater demands made on politics and political processes now than ever before. The urge for economic equality is only one of the many forms of expression of this dynamism. The more familiar and unmistakable evidences of this are the tendencies of apparently divisive forces to grow. There is none that can be left out or overlooked or ignored in the great adventure which India has undertaken of building up rapidly a self-sustaining, self-generating economy. The crux of the problem in India is that this inherent dynamism of the situation today leads to strengthening of the forces which would prevent the realisation of that all-important goal. Indeed, a vicious circle is at work: there can be no rapid progress without a sense of unity among the people of India and there can be no sense of unity without a rapid progress. The attack on this vicious circle must necessarily be a function of India's elite. The most dangerous of all phenomena of these dangerous decades is that the elite in India is not yet equipped to face this great task nor does it have even an adequate consciousness about it. It is interesting that while none in

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\* *India : The Dangerous Decades* By Selig S. Harrison, Oxford University Press, 1960  
Price Rs. 20/-, 350 pages.

India would like to be called communal (even though they may be so at heart), few regret publicly advancing the interests of their own linguistic group or region without caring for its total impact of the political situation in India. The most important need, therefore, is to understand how important India's unity is and how dangerous from that view point the coming decades could be.

Selig S. Harrison, an American journalist, has rendered a great service to this case by producing the most provocative of all books so far written on the subject and by turning the searchlight on the manifold problem of India's national unity. The author apparently wanted to underline the problems facing India today with such great emphasis that he has ignored many of the hopeful aspects of the situation, and an Indian reader of this book may well brand it as lop-sided and unbalanced. It may be somewhat unkind to Harrison, however, to miss his possible motive in painting a gloomy picture of the future. It is in the jacket of the book that it is said: "His aim in this book is to stimulate serious and sympathetic discussion of the long-term potential of the centrifugal forces now at work in India and to suggest that counter-measures to meet this challenge are necessary." Apart from this, it is essential that the dangers inherent in Indian situation are tersely put forward; for, none can deny that some of the nightmares of Harrison are very much the real problems of Indian society today.

The central theme of Harrison is stated in the opening pages. "Deep seated centrifugal forces on the one hand, and the contradictory urge for unified national power in the face of the unity of others, will act and interact too convulsively to leave India's present Constitution undisturbed." (p-5) The danger is thus summed up: "As economic competition grows, and as the political victors set the ground rules for the economic competition, so the unity and militance of regional lobbies and regional caste lobbies will grow. And as the languages of each region become the languages of education and politics, new regional elites, each with a vested interest in one of the ten separate regional languages, will assert new claims to dominance of administrative and political leadership." (p. 5-6)

Before we take up an assessment of the view point put forward in this documented study of the problems of India's unity, it may be worthwhile to state the main line of argument in this book. While as a civilisation and as an integrated cultural whole, India has shown a power of survival rivaled only by China, the various linguistic groups have failed as consistently as Europe's to hold together as a political unity. In all the three broad divisions that might be made of the territories constituting India namely, "North, Deccan and South" separate regional identities had persisted in the face of recurrent empires. The periods of imperial unification were too brief and too widely spaced in time, the periods of isolated regional independence too frequent and prolonged, and above all, the facts of Geography too powerful, for linguistic developments to have followed any other course. In the North, the example is quoted of Bengal, Assam and Gujarat of how these distinct linguistic and cultural groups withstood the impact of politically unified empires. In the Deccan which, according to Harrison's classification, includes Maharashtra, Orissa, Andhra and Karnataka, aggressive Marathi regionalism is illustrated from the works of Indian and foreign scholars. In South India, the strength of the Tamil appeal is mentioned as another complicating factor. This lack of political unity in the past and the existence of distinct historical memories provide sustenance and strength to the regional loyalties today. These is an irresistible demand for greater recognition of the role of the regional languages which will make it difficult for any all-India language to emerge and which may make the State boundaries formidable factors in the formulation of political opinion of the various peoples.

India today is on the verge of an unprecedented process of social and cultural mobilisation of the low caste millions and in all probability, this would happen around the regional languages. There is no single language acceptable to all sections of the Indian people and unlike the status of Sanskrit in the distant past or English in the immediate past, it is impossible that Hindi will be accepted as an all-India language. As the quiescence of the lower castes and the under-privileged in India is yielding place to an unprecedented turbulence, the new mass social consciousness may express itself through regional and linguistic outbursts.

In the matter of language, Hindi can be ruled out because of its inchoate nature and its under-developed condition. The conflict really, according to Harrison, is not between Hindi and the regional language, but between English and the regional language. It is his view that the regional languages are on a slow but continued ascendance. In fact, in this conflict between English and the regional languages, India is faced with a dilemma. If a new generation of Indian leaders rooted in their local linguistic cultures arises, it would provide great fillip for local progress in all fields. On the other hand, this may prove incompatible with the need for cohesive political and administrative leadership at the national level: "As the regional languages gain new prestige, as the regional capitals become the centres of cultural vitality in India, the number of men who are educated in cosmopolitan intellectual surroundings will rapidly dwindle." The danger is not that the genuine intellectual would not look to universal horizons. The danger is that they will be caught in an atmosphere of political ferment that will, in most instances, emphasise and honour parochial rather than universal values. The behaviour of the regional languages press as against that of the English language press in India could be cited as an instance of the possible effects of an upsurge of regional languages. There will still be left a determined few at the very pinnacle of Indian leadership who would have a cosmopolitan outlook but "beneath this national elite, however, successor to the present generation of Indian leadership, new regional elites will arise and it is these regional elites which will command decisive social and political power." (p. 88). The problem of India's unity would be the problem of co-existence of the elite in various parts of India who are not only trained in their regional languages but constantly attempt to ride on local patriotism in national politics.

Caste is an equally formidable divisive force in Indian society and instead of counteracting the regional loyalties, it may further lend meaning to them. Though caste is usually regarded as a kind of vertical division of the Indian society, it is Harrison's view that "in place of a vertical view of Hindu caste group ranked on an ascending scale of *varnas*, irrespective of regional location, it is more meaningful to view the Hindu social order horizontally as a succession of regional sub-castes that coincide at right angles with linguistic regions." The basis of this view is that the operative caste usually extends up to the limits of the linguistic region and hence it will have a supplementary influence on the divisive pressures exerted by regional loyalties. The demand for linguistic reorganisation of States could well be, according to Harrison, the demand of a dominant caste group within a region to enjoy total power within the linguistic group. Caste, far from dissolving under the impact of economic change, is becoming stronger than ever before. The reasons are stated by Harrison in his characteristic style: "Caught in a never-never world of frustration, somewhere between newly aroused desires for equality and the scant spoils of progress that are actually available, it is inevitable for a man to turn to a loyalty he knows and understands to fortify his quest for equality with those above him and to assure that he is 'more equal' than those below. While in time some dissolution of Hindu values and social ties will follow industrialisation and urbanisation, while in time successful members of rising castes

will forsake their group allegiances for a broad new middle class consciousness, in the decades immediately ahead most Hindus will pursue equality as members of caste lobbies."

One of the interesting facts mentioned by Harrison in course of his thesis is that the *Marwari* business community which is spread all over India even as village money lenders provides a ready target for regional propagandists who link him with the Central Government: "While he is more of an evil demon in some regions than in others, the *Marwari* (or the Gujarati *baniya*) is, in almost all regions, the central villain in regionalist propaganda and a focal point of factionalism when he pursues local political power." Two areas are mentioned as those where the *Marwaris* are 'evil demons'—Maharashtra and Bengal—and according to Harrison: "To say that Bengal does not enjoy freedom from the *Marwaris* was a masterpiece of under-statement." (p. 120).

Colour prejudice is operative in the most blatant manners among the Indians themselves. The upper Indian castes trace their origin from the same stock as the white European people and many North Indians refer to South Indians in a sarcastic manner, contemptuous of them, because they were so dark!

One of the basic consequences of the industrial revolution India is now undergoing is that it emancipates tenant farmers and migrant labour from their feudal attachment (p. 134). Out of this will arise a clamorous competition and the linguistic boundary of caste will reinforce the lines of economic rivalry, first within linguistic limits between contesting caste groups and, at the same time, across linguistic lines between regional caste lobbies whose interests overlap.

The danger to India's political unity and democracy, according to Harrison, is further aggravated by the fact that the Indian Communist Party, backed by the international Communist movement, is anxious to exploit all the divisive forces in order to advance their cause. Communist policy in Asia has been making special use of the divisive forces and in India particularly, the Communists have been encouraging fantastic theories on the national question (for example, Adhikari's support to Muslim demand for Pakistan). The author quotes from the Party's memorandum to the Cabinet Mission submitted in April 1946: "The provisional government should be charged with the task of setting up a boundary commission to redraw boundaries on the basis of natural ancient homelands of every people. The people of each such unit should have the unfettered right of self-determination. . . . Delegates elected from each national unit shall decide by a majority whether they will join the all-India constituent assembly to form an Indian union, or remain out and form a separate sovereign state by themselves, or join another Indian union." (p. 154).

With profuse quotations from Communist Party documents, the author attempts to justify his thesis that the Communists have conceived of India as a multi-national State and have been trying to make use of all regional loyalties and centrifugal trends to further the cause of their party in India. There has been a change in Communist strategy since 1953 when there was an accent of Indian unity in view of the improved Indo-Soviet relations. In May 1954 the Secretary General of the Party repudiated the "myth of a *Marwari* oppressive nation." The Party also extended support to Hindi as a national language. However, it is Harrison's view that "the Indian Communists have never fully relinquished the nationality weapon's most potent ammunition—each nation's right to secede from the Indian unity." In fact, "Indian Communism itself is a loose federation of regional units that have succeeded, where they have in fact succeeded, only on regional grounds. An un-

even pattern of Communist strength corresponds to the pattern of the Communist identification with regional forces." It is concentrated in the non-Hindi regions along the coast line of India and has no great base in the Hindi speaking heartland. In the 1956 Congress of the Communist Party, the Hindi speaking regions represented only 20 per cent of votes in the Communist Party session. The Communist Party, apart from making use of regional and separatist tendencies, has also made considerable use of the caste divisions in Indian society. Making a State-wise analysis, Harrison points out how the two great divisive forces—casteism and regionalism—had been made use of with success by the Communist Party and how the Communist Party becomes ineffective when it neglects these fundamental elements and concentrates on its economic programme.

All these problems—the fundamental centrifugal tendencies in Indian society, the growth of regional elites, the lack of a national language, the increasing importance of caste in politics and the possible use of these tendencies by a party like the Communist—pose the problem: "Will India develop as a strong centrally directed political whole, or will she, under the stresses of regionalism, become a congeries of loosely federated states?" (p. 246). The answer to the question will largely depend on the nature of party politics in India and how far a national party system will sustain itself in Indian society. As it is, all the political parties including the Communist and the Congress are subjected to severe strains by the attempts of each of its units to conform to the regional urges. It is Harrison's feeling that "national party discipline, in fact, is likely to account for less and less as the shift to the regional languages shifts the centre of attraction in all political life to the regional level. . . . . It certainly seems likely that in India after Nehru the regions will be dictating to the central high command rather than vice versa." From this follows the gloomy forecast of Harrison. "Even in India's internal power relationships, the process of centralisation is not likely to occur with the smooth, gradual, almost imperceptible balance that has marked the growth of the federal system in the United States. Instead the process will be fitful, a succession of convulsions in a volcanic political landscape."

Harrison ends with a prescription for the West: "Too much of faith should not be put on India's democratic institutions and the West must be ready and prepared for upholding authoritarian regimes in India." The first task for the West is not to defend India's democracy but to promote its unity; for, a non-democratic India need not necessarily be Communist but parts of a divided India will inevitably be so (p-339).

There is an apparent logic running through the pages of this book, but only if one accepts the basic premises of Harrison. The concept of India's unity has not been so non-existent as Harrison assumes it to be. Historically, the conceptual unity of India has always been present in the minds of men. The political unification of India of recent times was undoubtedly achieved under British rule, but it followed a growing unity achieved in other fields through expansion of communications, trade and commerce, railways and the emergence of an integrated economy. Moreover, the struggle against the British rule had to a large extent emotionally integrated the people of India and the regional stresses and strains of today do not obliterate the basic structure of India's emotional unity.

It is the importance of the economic factors which Harrison neglects and throughout the book there is a lopsided approach based on inadequate appraisal of the social ferment through which India is passing today. The divisive forces in Indian society have manifested themselves, not as a result of economic stagnation but as a result of the new dynamism produced by economic development in Indian

society. One aspect of the problems created by this dynamism is the strength it has lent to divisive tendencies but none can deny that *pari passu* with this, the consciousness is growing that economic development of the various regions which constitute India is possible only through a unified and centralised approach to planning. There is no proper assessment again of the nature of India's economic policies and its impact on unity. Quite rightly the factor of *Marwari* predominance in industry is mentioned, but what is not taken note of is that the public sector is expanding rapidly and that it represents the truly Indian sector of the economy. Secondly, the heavy industrialisation programme undertaken by the Government and the emphasis laid on big projects (which benefit not one but a group of States in most cases), are great contributing factors to the growth of India's unity. Harrison has rendered a great service by drawing attention to the need for greater care in planning India's economic progress for national unity but his conclusions seem to be undefendable in the light of the considerable progress already achieved in this field.

His views on communism, which is dealt with in great details, fail to take note of some of the important factors in international politics today. It has been the core of the success of India's foreign policy that today's India with its political structure, economic policies and present pattern of external relations, represents an area of agreement between the great powers of the world and, with the possible exception of China, the major powers of the world have a stake in the political and economic stability of India and the continued existence of India as a unified State. For those who do not share the basic distrust of the Soviet Union which Harrison displays, it is clear that the Soviet Union, among other nations, is vitally interested in stability and progress in this region and it is unlikely that the Communist Party of India would defy the international Communist movement to press the local advantages which casteism and regionalism undoubtedly offer. From the policy declarations of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Government, it is now evident that their conception of the future progress of the human society to Communism does not any longer envisage the use of such divisive forces and the elements of conflict. It is the rate of economic growth in the Soviet Union which, according to them, would ultimately convert all peoples to Communism! Behind this theoretical formulation is an apparent stake of the Soviet Union in peace and stability in the world. The South Asian region and particularly India is of vital consequence for stability in that part of the world which is in ferment. It is unlikely, therefore, that the role of the Communist Party in this region would in the near future be one of subverting the unity of the Indian nation.

One specific assumption of Harrison on which the validity of his entire thesis rests is that India will not have an all-India language which will make it possible for the various regional elites to co-exist and co-operate and function together. It is undeniable that the resistance to Hindi is too strong at the moment to permit it to emerge as an all-India language but is apparently incorrect to imagine that the English language is going to be replaced in the coming decades by the regional languages. In fact, one might say that English would continue to be an important cementing force in India, while Hindi grows to become more acceptable to the non-Hindi speaking areas. There will naturally be an upsurge of the regional languages but the crucial point is that this upsurge is led by the English speaking elite of the various regions and it is improbable that the 'Neo-Brahmins' of India, namely, the English speaking elite, will press their regional claims to an extent which would undermine their present status in society.

The real point to be determined here is whether the social upsurge to which Harrison refers in the form of mobilisation of caste and regional sentiments is

taking place more rapidly than the Government's capacity is increasing to fulfil the basic demands of the Indian people. Harrison makes a scant reference to the importance of scientific and technological progress but it would appear even in 1961 that the process of economic growth for India need not be as strenuous or as long drawn out as it would have been if the world was faced with a static level of technology. With the increasing agreement among the developed nations of the world that the problem of economic development of the under-developed regions is a burden which they must carry, it is possible that economic advancement can be achieved within the structure of political freedom and democracy. It is an outdated approach to economics to imagine that India or such other countries would progress only to the extent that it will be able to mobilise internal resources. Institutions of freedom have basically succumbed either in the process of forcing the pace of development or in altogether ignoring it and divisive forces have only been the symptoms of the fundamental disease. With the tremendous advance in technology in the developed nations of the world, their capacity to earmark a part of their surplus for the under-developed regions has grown to an extent when it may be reasonably hoped that the process of development in these regions would be considerably eased.

Among the many hopeful features which Harrison has failed to take note of is the growth in India of a new elite. Rightly has Harrison referred to the incapacity of the civil servant to remain aloof from growing regionalism; but what he has missed is that under the impact of industrialisation, a new class of engineers and technicians, artisans and skilled workers is fast growing in India for whom there is absolute mobility within the country and who have a vital stake in the unity of India. In fact, the middle class which has been spear-heading the regional outbursts is fast losing its dominant position in society. Instead, a more modernised middle class based on India's large-scale industrial development is fast assuming a position of importance. It is not easy to forecast whether the growth of this modernised middle class would be rapid enough to offset the separatist tendencies created by other forces but its existence cannot be denied and its importance is evident.

Harrison's account of the problem of India's unity is, therefore, unbalanced and his pessimism would not be shared by other objective students of Indian developments. Nevertheless the forces to which Harrison points out are very much existent in Indian society and pose fundamental problems for our national leadership and this pessimistic account for the future of India should help to shake the complacency which still exists in many minds.

## INTEGRATION OF ANTI-AIRCRAFT ARTILLERY WITH THE AIR FORCE

By MAJOR M. L. KATARIA

### INTRODUCTION

**C**ONVENTIONALLY, the fighter interceptor aircraft of the Air Force and the anti-aircraft artillery of the Army constitute the principal weapons for air defence. Under the classical concept, therefore, air defence is essentially a joint co-operative responsibility, involving the Air Force and the Army, and at times, all the three Services, including the Navy when available at the shores.

In the wake of new weapons of war, as a corollary to the technological and industrial advancement, a major reshuffle in the pattern and technique of war took place and was witnessed during the Second World War, necessitating what came to be known as joint or combined operations, involving more than one Service merely because the land, sea and air powers had been reared up traditionally as three distinct Services in water tight compartments and were now per force of circumstance required to operate jointly.

However, history of the campaigns has now revealed numerous instances on either side of the belligerents, where the human factor, the so-called 'Service prestige', and the interservice rivalry and 'red-tape' have been a considerable hinderance and even embarrassment during the planning, execution and progress of certain joint operations.

To obviate such adverse influences and also in compliance with the dictates of the present and future operational requirements, the current trend is to integrate an element peculiar to one Service to another, and vice versa, where necessity so demands, in spite of traditional claims and exclusive monopolies in water tight Service Compartments.

It is in this context that integration of the Army's anti-aircraft artillery with the Air Force deserves consideration, moreso if the latter is primarily and operationally responsible for the air defence of the country, in spite of a joint and co-operative effort.

Unification of heterogeneous elements, belonging to different Services but complementary to a common purpose and task, is advisably warranted as a homogeneous amalgamation under one Service, where possible, for streamlining, better control, co-ordination, co-operation and achievements; provided there are no conflicting and genuine individual Service demands.

Therefore, the aim here is to examine the feasibility of integration of anti-aircraft artillery with the Air Force, based on rational conclusion resulting from a dispassionate assessment of the pros and cons, after an intimate scrutiny of the case for and against this proposal.

### CASE FOR INTEGRATION

In the domain of warfare it is an age-long hypothesis, which can now be enunciated as a universally-accepted law, that the command and control of various elements in a heterogeneous force, partaking together in an operation of war, is vested in the one who is engaged predominantly and is held ultimately responsible for the operation.

Air defence being a joint undertaking, operational control of the Army's anti-aircraft artillery under the classical concept, no doubt, is vested in the air

defence commander from the Air Force, who is ultimately responsible for the air defence; nevertheless, there is a technical difference between a mere operational control and a total command and control. Whereas the former affiliation enables him to knit the artillery placed at his disposal into a chain of air defence to tide over only a particular situation in a particular sector, the latter would confer on him a far greater and a more lasting latitude in the best exploitation of this force, without going through the time consuming 'red-tape' of interservice formalities and joint co-ordination to achieve affiliation every time.

It is in this context, in the higher aspects of affiliation and in its process of final evolution, that one can visualise and advocate the ultimate development of a total command and control into a complete integration of the Army's anti-aircraft artillery with the Air Force, permanently as a part and parcel of the Air Force.

If air defence is the primary role for the anti-aircraft artillery and it still constitutes an essential component for the air defence complex in our case, its integration with the Air Force, the predominant and ultimately responsible component in that complex, would confer its centralised control on one Service, obviating the dual control of varying degree by the two Services as at present, with accuring advantages of greater flexibility in its overall employment.

In the above proposal one can also visualise certain amount of economy in manpower and equipment, in the organisational and functional aspects of the anti-aircraft artillery, employed as an integral part of the Air Force with her fighter arm in air defence.

For instance, a marked reduction in the anti-aircraft artillery staff from the Army, at each level of joint co-operation, from the highest air defence headquarters down to each sector operations centre, can be foreseen. This at present is not possible, when air defence is a joint interservice co-operation, necessitating inevitable representation from each Service at each level, for essential control and co-ordination of their respective components, in the air defence complex.

In its ultimate analysis it is a matter for the technical experts to decide, whether, after integration of the anti-aircraft artillery with the Air Force, it would still be necessary to have, as at present, the full scale anti-aircraft fire command units, the anti-aircraft control and reporting units, and expensively imported equipment like the tactical control radars for surveillance, selection and recognition of targets for the heavy anti-aircraft artillery; because these elements already constitute an essentially organic part of the Air Force for her air defence role, and, apparently, should conveniently be able to cater for the requirements of the anti-aircraft artillery also, if it were an integral part of the Air Force for all times. A substantial overall economy in organisation and equipment can thus be visualised in the proposed integration of the anti-aircraft artillery with the Air Force.

Prima facie, the proposition discussed hitherto appears feasible for static air defence. However, in the field, in a conventional war, it does present certain lacunae. Statistic air defence can be envisaged in a well developed communication zone; however, in the combat zone, particularly in the divisional sector, the conditions may be so fluid and tactical situation may be changing so fast that the divisional commander may have to wholly depend on his light anti-aircraft artillery for the air defence of the vital points in his sector and the fighter aircraft may only be a bonus, where possible.

Therefore, to cater for the air defence in the combat zone, status quo would have to be maintained in respect of the existing divisional resources of the light anti-aircraft artillery, which would be exempted from integration with the Air

Force, unlike the rest of the total resources of anti-aircraft artillery of the Army, which would form a part and parcel of the Air Force.

#### CASE AGAINST INTEGRATION

At higher levels of organisations in joint interservice operations, it is an accepted doctrine that integration, final command and control of supporting elements of versatile employment should remain with the major user Service, for it is consistent with greater economy in effort and organisation.

Therefore, if Army is the major user of artillery as a whole, the anti-aircraft artillery as its allied component should also remain an integral part of the Army, even though its primary task may be to support the Air Force in her air defence role.

Furthermore, as an integral part of the Army, the anti-aircraft artillery can also be usefully employed in the ground role, if it is wastefully idling in the absence of an aerial target. Such an extra bonus from the anti-aircraft artillery would be denied if it were an integral part of the Air Force.

If the ultimate object of integrating the anti-aircraft artillery with the Air Force is to achieve greater flexibility in its employment for its primary role and more economy in its organisational and functional aspects, it is being automatically defeated by the very proposal itself, which accepts bisection of the total anti-aircraft artillery resources, by leaving some with the Army in the divisional set-up, as at present, and absorbing the rest into the Air Force; thus deliberately frittering away the resources into penny packets.

In the above bisection of the total anti-aircraft artillery resources into separate Air Force anti-aircraft artillery and the Army anti-aircraft artillery, besides losing advantages accruing from its centralised control under one Service, disadvantages like the wasteful duplication in the day-to-day training of the anti-aircraft artillery separately in the two Services cannot be denied and ignored.

In the acceptance of this proposal one can also foresee an endless chain reaction leading to major reshuffles, eventually affecting perhaps all the three Services, one after the other. To give one instance, if the Air Force claim on the Army's anti-aircraft artillery is accepted, why not also accede to the Navy's likely clamour for absorption of the maritime reconnaissance wings of the Air Force? After all, arguments similar to those advanced under the case for integration of the Army's anti-aircraft artillery with the Air Force can also be extended for the latter proposal with equal emphasis.

In the Battle of Britain during the Second World War, numerous anti-aircraft guns were successfully employed to support the Royal Air Force in the air defence of the country, and yet they remained an integral part of the Army. If the age-old system of integration has already triumphantly stood the major test of the time, there is hardly any justification in any reshuffle in the accepted conventional set-up.

In view of the foregoing, one cannot help but resort to the sarcasm that the entire proposal tantamounts to only robbing Peter and paying Paul, but with a wrongful loss to the one and an unwanted gain to the other!

#### ASSESSMENT OF PROS AND CONS

A comparative study of the past and the present day patterns of warfare reveals that, whereas, the old hypothesis "that the command and control of various elements in a heterogeneous force partaking together in an operation of war

is vested in the one engaged predominantly and held ultimately responsible for that operation" . . . . still holds the ground; the doctrine . . . . "that integration, final command and control of supporting elements of versatile employment, should remain with the major user Service" . . . . does no longer possess an all-time applicability.

For instance, although the Air Force is the major user Service of all types of aircraft, yet, for several reasons, a part of the total air transport, if not as yet in our case, at least elsewhere, does constitute an integral part of the Army. Similarly, besides the Air Force, the fighter aircraft constitute an integral part of the Navy also. Such integrations have been dictated and accepted not without pressingly genuine requirements.

In the above instances, have the air transport and fighter aircraft resources been bisected and thus frittered away, resulting in lack flexibility in their employment in any way, where most appropriately required?

From the above it follows that whereas economy in effort and organisation is desirable, ultimate responsibility, operational necessity, functional efficiency, flexibility in overall employment and speed in execution are the over-riding factors which should decide the question of integration of the anti-aircraft artillery in the proposed case.

Air defence is the primary role of the anti-aircraft artillery. Its employment in any ground tasks is only a secondary role, provided it is available from its primary task. Further, the artillery resources for the ground role are so amply provided in the divisional set-up, that the employment of the anti-aircraft artillery in any ground tasks should merely amount to an uncatered for bonus, and can therefore hardly be quoted as an argument against its integration with the Air Force. In any case, the anti-aircraft artillery at the divisional level, where alone it is likely to be used in its secondary ground role, has already been excluded from integration with the Air Force in the proposed case.

Change is an essential criterion for further progress and is consistent with the nature herself. Success of a particular set-up in the past, in the Battle of Britain or elsewhere, should not alone preclude a reshuffle in it, if it is otherwise warranted and justified for a betterment in that set-up. The anti-aircraft artillery traditionally remained a part of the Army and its integration with the Air Force never transpired earlier, because in the past there was either no Air Force as such or she was in her infancy till late, when her air defence role with her ultimate responsibility was not so well developed and so well organised as it is today. Therefore, it is now possible to consider pooling of entire air defence resources under one Service ultimately responsible for air defence, to achieve better co-ordination speed and flexibility in their employment, by cutting out avoidable inter-service red-tapism; and also to gain overall economy in their functional and organisational aspects.

The wasteful duplication in training of the anti-aircraft artillery, envisaged in the case against the proposal, can be obviated by holding the Air Force responsible for basic training of the limited light anti-aircraft artillery left as a part of the Army in the case for the proposal. Such a system is not unknown. The Air Force is imparting the basic avialational training to the fighter air arm of the Navy, and the Army is training certain categories of technical personnel of the Air Force already.

## CONCLUSION

A few broader aspects of the case for and against the proposal to integrate the anti-aircraft artillery with the Air Force have been discussed followed by an assessment of the pros and cons of the proposal, leading to the deductions justifying the integration of the anti-aircraft artillery of the Army with the Air Force, less the limited resources of the light anti-aircraft artillery at the divisional level, with regard to which maintenance of 'status quo' has been envisaged.

Outbursts of violent controversial reactions, from several quarters, to such an unconventional reshuffle in a traditional set-up, are but natural; because, for more than anything else, conservatism is at times an inextricable part of human nature and sentiment often fogs the reason.

Nevertheless, before an outright rejection of the very face of the proposal, one is inclined to solicit cold calculation based on dispassionate consideration of the proposal, bereft of the so-called 'Service prestige' or the interior Service interests, in favour of the ulterior national interests.

Again, the proposal need not be brushed aside as a mere attempt to rob Peter and to pay Paul, resulting in a wrongful loss to the one and an unwanted gain to the other; it is perhaps a question of choice between providing leg-guards to the bowler or to the batsman!

## MAN-MANAGEMENT IN GUARDS BATTALIONS

By Major R. D. PALSKAR, MC, Brigade of The Guards

THE infantry battalions draw their men generally from one class of people. The men come from the same area, speak the same language and are bound together by a bond of common culture and heritage. Many are even inter-related. Since the formation of the Guards Brigade in the last decade, we now have a new type of an infantry battalion in the army, a battalion consisting of different classes of people serving together to form a formidable fighting unit—a Guards battalion. Here men are not grouped together on the basis of their caste, creed or language. There is only one recognised basis—that they are Indians. A section of eleven may consist of a Jat, a Dogra, a Sikh, a Maratha, a Gorkha, a Naga, a Bengali, an Adibasi, a Tamil, an Anglo-Indian and an Oriyya. Some of these may be devout Hindus or equally devout Mussalmans or Christians.

It is generally felt that such an apparently heterogeneous promiscuity should lack homogeneity. It is argued that when many educated Indians have not shed their narrow parochial outlook, how can semi-literate jawans forget their caste and creed and live together? And if they are not bound by the common bond of being Indians, the fighting value of such a unit should be negligible.

It is intended to discuss in this article how unity is achieved in such diversity and to throw light on some of the many problems of man-management in a Guards battalion.

In a unit of one class composition such as a Maratha or a Jat battalion, the common community of the men acts as a natural cementing factor and the men develop a tremendous esprit-de-corps and pride in themselves only on one single count viz that they are Marathas or Jats. In a Guards battalion, recourse can be taken to one of the following two alternatives:—

- (a) Either the men are slowly made to forget their communities, neglect their regional cultural activities and taught to take pride in being Indians;
- (b) or their individualities are retained, in fact encouraged to develop and yet they are taught to look at themselves in the wider perspective.

It is not easy to make the jawans forget their caste, community or creed. When they join the army, they are past their early impressionable age. Moreover, they spend two months every year amongst their kith and kin whilst on leave. Any such attempt may even be looked upon suspiciously by them and if misunderstood may lead to serious trouble. The second alternative is, therefore, reasorted to, i.e., their regional cultural activities encouraged and made use of in bringing them together.

This is achieved in a simple manner. Every battalion celebrates two days in a year—one to commemorate one of its great battle honours and the other its reorganisation into a Guards battalion. On such days, shows are organised to give an opportunity to the men to bring out their varied cultural background. Gorkhas may put across a Kukri dance, Marathas acrobatics on a Mall Khamb and Sikhs and Dogras a Bhangra dance. Nagas generally prefer their war dance in their colourful native costumes. Songs may be heard in any Indian language such as Tamil, Malayalam, Bengali, Assamese, Hindi, Punjabi or even Konkani. Whilst the spectators enjoy such a diverse, all India, fare, and give a hand to the performers, a sense of realisation slowly dawns upon the jawans that they are all Indians who think alike though in different languages.

To develop esprit-de-corps amongst the men, it is essential that they feel proud that they are Guardsmen who have been specially picked to join a select unit of the army, a Guards battalion. The history of the formation of the Guards Brigade and each of its battalions is such that it is comparatively easier to cultivate this sense of pride.

In 1948, General Cariappa, the then Commander-in-Chief decided to form a Guards Brigade consisting of three battalions. Later this number was increased to four. For this purpose, he chose four of the finest battalions of the army. All the four were raised in the latter half of the eighteenth century and claimed 10 to 15 battle honours each not counting those of the Second World War. Since their raising, each one of them had seen service in different parts of the world and was truly a veteran of many battles. Whilst one battalion claimed the unique distinction of three serving VCs at a time, another rightfully boasts even to date to be the only battalion which has the signal honour of having two colours and one additional—26th JCO on its establishment to look after the second colour. Each had a long and distinguished record of service both in peace and war. It is essential that the men know that the task of upholding such high traditions has befallen them and that they have to prove worthy of it. Teaching of regimental history, therefore, assumes greater importance and knowing it is a 'must' for every Guardsman.

Distinctive items of uniform such a bright gold and red hackle, an equally colourful lanyard, prominent titles worn on either shoulder, a black leather belt and the like have also been introduced to act as an aid to the men to give them the swagger of a Guardsman.

Discipline and a ready obedience to orders brought about by barrack square drilling act as an integrating factor and help to check fissiparous tendencies. The standard of drill in Guards battalions is the highest in the country today and men learn to obey their NCOs without demur on the parade ground.

Initially it was considered that the different languages spoken by the men may act as an hindrance to their getting together. Experience has, however, shown that they learn to converse, read and write Hindusthani in Devnagri script in no appreciable time. It is quite common to see a South Indian NCO receiving pre-course training from a Gorkha NCO and then returning from the Infantry School with an AX.

Lack of knowledge of each other's customs sometimes leads unwittingly to humour. A story is told with much relish of a Sikh NCO who was drilling a squad of young soldiers one of whom was a Maratha named Tanaji and the other a Bengali named Bannerji. Both Tanaji and Bannerji were not as good in their drill movements as Naik Banta Singh expected them to be. After drilling them for a while he got quite browned off and shouted, "You Tanaji and Bannerji, you cannot march properly and yet you like to add a "ji" to your names. What do you think you are?"

Hindusthani is the regimental language of the Guards Brigade. Yet when it comes to purchasing gramophone records for the recreation room or subscribing to periodicals for the men's library, every effort is made to make available varied fare suiting different tastes. As funds are restricted, this becomes a little difficult and when in doubt preferential treatment is always given to Hindusthani.

To achieve integration, it is imperative that the men, their NCOs and JCOs feel secure in the unit. Security of career depends upon uniform promotion rules based upon seniority cum efficiency. Company commanders personally select

prospective Umedwars. No consideration whatsoever is given to a man's caste, creed or village. All the promotion tests are conducted by officers themselves and here again only merit is allowed to count. Appointments are filled on the basis of efficiency and suitability. Sometimes it may just so happen that NCOs or JCOs of one community may hold most of the important appointments. Even this is not allowed to give preferential treatment to some less deserving types. In fact the word community is taboo whilst referring to promotions and appointments. Officers pride themselves in being strictly impartial in such matters.

Promotion rules are not changed so easily. A new commanding officer does not normally mean a new set of promotion rules. Whilst commanding officers last for a maximum of four years, men serve for 15 to 30 years in a battalion.

The same indifference to community or religion is not shown while sending JCOs or NCOs on extra regimental employments (ERE). If a community has only one JCO or a senior NCO in the battalion, he is not generally sent out. Though he does not directly look after the interests of the men of his community, he helps in organising cultural shows and if ever there is some discontentment amongst the men of his community, it is likely that he may get to know of it before anyone else does. He then not only acts as a safety valve but may also bring certain grievances to the notice of the commanding officer through the Subedar Major. Yet he is *not* considered the spokesman of his community nor are the men encouraged to look up to him for any redress of wrongs. It will be appreciated that it calls forth considerable tact on the part of the Subedar Major to listen to or ignore such a JCO.

Religion plays an important part in the life of an Indian. In a battalion where there is only one religious teacher authorised and men practise different systems of faith and worship, it becomes a little difficult to conduct religious services. Stress is, therefore, laid on the common basic principles of different religions and not on the form of worship. The Pundit, who only knew Hindu Scriptures before he joined the battalion has to study the teachings of Mohammed, Christ and Guru Nanak to be able to talk to all the men at the same time. Officers of different faiths attend meetings organised by the religious teacher and rely more on personal example than on persuasion or compulsion for the men to attend such meetings.

During the days of the reorganisation of the battalions, it was felt that the different food habits of the men would create problems for the Quartermaster and the 'langar' commanders. It was said that men do not change their food habits easily. Experience has, however, shown that food presents no problem. In fact, many atta eaters change to rice and vice versa for a month at a time. A South Indian langer commander who wants to prove to his fellowmen from the North that 'Sambar' is the better form of dal becomes just as popular as the Jat who believes in the cult of 'Shudh ghee'. The daily menu is as diverse yet harmonious as the men are.

Today the Guards Brigade is a force to be reckoned with. The men do not think of themselves as Jats or Marathas but as Guardsmen. They are proud and disciplined soldiers who walk with the hauteur of the brave. The orthodox and the heterodox eat from the same cook house and all speak the lingua franca. Whether it is an ARA match, a drill competition, an athletic meet or the guarding of India's frontiers, the competitors or adversaries become conscious of their inadequacies because The Guards symbolise united India.

## AN ANCIENT MILITARY SYSTEM

By Lt. Col. J. G. O. WHITEHEAD (retd.)

**I**N India, Assyria and Britain the common tradition is found, of a very old military system with a rather remarkable character. Evidences of it are traceable also in Persia and Crete; it must, therefore, be Aryan in origin, using that term generically. As it was based on a peculiarly advanced moral concept, higher than in vogue today, it deserves examination. This article is partly exploratory, to invite further evidence; so that eventually a more complete picture of its existence may be constructed.

The system in India was named *vena*, personified as a king who commanded it; in Assyria it was *pheni*, and in Britain *feinn*. Here the form *feinn* is being used, pronounced *fayn*; it is from the root found in the Sanskrit *van*-“conquer,” Slavonic *Vojn*, “war,” and High German *win*-“fight.”

The *feinn* were all dedicated to the Great Bear constellation, which meant they were devoted to upholding the social philosophy its Seven Stars denoted; it was a code of exceedingly high ideals, indeed the same civilisation as is our object today. In order to give a preliminary sketch of the system's features, a few instances of its traditional appearance will be quoted, before entering into it in fuller detail. In Britain, in 60 A.D. when the Roman invasion was being resisted, a Latin writer commented—

‘Happy the folk on whom the Bear looks down, whom dread of death, the greatest of all fears, moves not. Hence their warrior's heart hurls them against the steel, hence their ready welcome of death: for, who were coward enough to grudge a life sure of its return?’

In other words, the Romans were being opposed by a military brotherhood of the Bear, who believed that death in battle granted them immortality; and another Latin writer refers to their leader as *Arctur*, the star charioteer who directed the Great Bear “battle-wagon.” In India, the king *Vena* of tradition was descended from the Seven Rishis of the Great Bear; and it is related that the bands of soldiers he commanded got out of control after his death, roaming the countryside and living on pillage; this, as will be seen, was their legitimate practice, but carried to abuse. The legend that king *Vena* had a son born from his thigh finds its counterpart in Syria and Britain. In Assyria there was a distinguished organisation called *Pheni-el*, meaning “spirit of the *pheni*”; it had the alternative name *Uri-el*, “spirit of the Bear.” The term “organisation” has here been adopted from a comparison with the spirits' fellow beings in the BOOK OF ENOCH; there they are pictured as beings in a quartet of “archangels,” who can be interpreted as personifications of the four main principles of the Assyrian social creed. *Uri-el* will have been a college of sages named after the particular principle of “the Bear”; *Pheniel* will have been a parallel military corps. Biblical story tells of a *Pheniel* wrestling with a Hebrew patriarch, and laming him in the thigh; correspondingly Celtic tradition relates that a British chieftain *Phanuel* had a daughter born from his thigh, after touching it with a knife. What these several thigh legends signify is not material here; the present purpose is to show the connection they evidence.

In Persia the charioteer of the Bear was known as *Ash* and his Seven Sons; this introduces the possibility of the *feinn* being found there under another name. *Ash*, moreover, is the griffin, a fantasy composed of a lion, dragon and eagle; it figures in Britain as the Cymri's earliest badge, and the so-called “crest” of their patron saint, David. Classical mythology relates the sphinx of Egypt to the griffin,

a creature similarly composed of a lion, dragon and eagle; but with a human head and dog's body added. As the three creatures common to both are symbols for three of the Assyrian "archangels," there can be little doubt that the griffin represents the Persian *feinn*, the royal bodyguard known as The Immortals, and that a similar institution existed in Egypt. Griffins guard the throne in Crete and Mycenaean Greece.

The race who used the Bear for their emblem were known in the West as the Pukhten, "Picts," whom several features indicate to have been the same as the Pukhtan, "Pathans." Thus they gain a realistic nature as part of a living people. They had many other names, of course; one example of them is the army of "Bears" led by Jambavat to Rama's aid, another is the Scandinavian *Berserkir*, "Bear-skin warriors."

So wide a dispersal of the race carries us back to a very remote period, to one hitherto looked on as primitive. That term, though, is a misnomer: material civilisation was primitive; but that bore no relation to the people's intellectual capacity, which conversely was astonishingly far advanced. Some definite reason for their having been content with crude material conditions must have obtained; and it, perhaps, was the effect of a disastrous experience. It is conceivable that the Aryans were scattered survivors from the catastrophe when the advanced "Aurignacian" race was exterminated, by a cruder people, through the invention of the bow and arrow. It may be that any attempt to master Nature scientifically was forbidden, lest the tragedy be repeated; at least one traditional story points towards that view. Accordingly the Aryans led a secluded existence, materially primitive, but intellectually developing an observant understanding of Nature, and particularly of human nature.

An endeavour will now be made to trace the military backbone of the resurgent race. The Warriors of the Bear seem to have originated in the mountains of Turkestan, where there were a pair of kindred tribes, the Bear and Boar, in Celtic *Arc* and *Orc*, hence Arcadians and Orcadians. The Pukhtan or Pichten were a branch of the latter. The military caste's primary purpose was the defence of their social ideals; these used to be expressed in the shape of five aims for conduct, denoted on the fingers of the hand—

the Physical aim	Health & Strength	Thumb
the Intellectual aim	Wisdom	Forefinger (pointing the way)
the Unknown element	Luck	Midfinger
the Material aim	Prosperity	Ring-finger
the Social aim	Justice	Little finger

The sum of these was Happiness; and Justice contained the concept that individual happiness could never be complete unless people around were also contended and at peace. This was adequate worldly wisdom; but in the course of time a more thoughtful view expanded it to the outlook that happiness does not depend fundamentally on power and wealth, but is a state of mind, one which enables even the comparatively weak and poor to be none the less happy. Luck over gaining worldly benefits was not so much the essence, as the frame of mind that did not crave them. Instead of luck, therefore, the midfinger became Selflessness; and this was especially the warriors' principle. Generally speaking, the fingers of the hand denoted the revised code of wisdom.

The Pukhtan, as well as other tribes, eschewed any representation of the Divine spirit in human form. That Spirit being the essence of unworldliness was

pictured as dwelling in the sky, represented merely by a cloud (concealing the "Formless" beyond); or, to meet the needs of persons unable to imagine the abstract, as a hand stretching from the cloud. This was known as the Hand of El Iskunder, anglicised into Hand of "Alexander", still an honoured cavalry standard\*. Escandera was the Ideal, an earthly paradise attained by the rule of the five fingers; and Iskanderun in Syria, (Is) Kandahar in Afghanistan, and (E) Scandinavia in Europe, mark three endeavours to achieve it. But later generations failed to live up to the founders' ideals.

A second device depicting Escandera was a lion wielding a blue axe, called the heraldic "arms" of Alexander. The word "lion" in Celtic is synonymous with "light", implying light of mind, Reason@; the blue axe was the "sky-axe", the Divine power which cleft the clouds and released both rain for watering the earth and lightning so the whole signified "unwordly Reason, the sky-way to Happiness". This brief statement is the contraction of much else, which appreciated happiness as the sign of a healthy mind, one ruled by Sense; and it defined the aim in life as a healthy mind in a healthy body. The lion and sky-axe form the present arms of Norway; they illustrate the *Berserkir* intended purpose. Their actual purpose, though deteriorated into pillage, as in king Vena's aftermath; in this is a lesson, that internal self-control, as contrasted with externally enforced discipline, should be the aim. Escandera was the ideal in India also, where its name figures as Skanda, the planet Mars. The usual notion that Mars stood for war is a fallacy: he personified Wisdom, which included Justice in the later revised principles; to it in particular was applied the military principle of Determination, thus he portrayed determination to uphold the rule of Reason against overthrow by force. He was in no sense aggression. Skanda perpetuates resolute idealism.

The five rules of the Hand were expanded into eight principles for a happy life, sometimes shortened to seven by considering Determination as implicit in all; these have been described in the R.U.S.I. Journal of November 1958, so here their headings only will be given—Ideal Aims, Knowledge, Wise Judgment (for using knowledge correctly, and inclusive of justice), Selflessness, Goodwill, Physical Welfare, and Moral Determination. These were spoken of as "Light", and accordingly were designated by Seven Stars, different social groups choosing different constellations. The Pukhtan chose the Great Bear's seven with *Arcturus* the charioteer as eighth, Determination the leader; the Danes of Europe took the seven of the Northern Crown; another group chose the seven Krittikas (*Pleiads*) with *Auriga* as charioteer; and others used the Seven Planets, consisting of the Sun and Moon and five planets proper—*Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn*—from which have been named the days of the week. In fact, the days are now the best mnemonic for Common Sense. These principles were often personified, as a more popular means for remembering them; hence the Seven Rishis. Originally the Rishis will have been Seven Warriors; but when the Kshattriyas were suppressed because of their excesses, they will have been transformed into Seven Sages.

The Kshattriya caste must undoubtedly have come from the *vana* warriors, and be the equivalent of the Celtic *feinn*. The latter likewise experienced the temptation to arrogance: story tells of a king who wished his daughter to marry a certain man, but the *feinn* intervened claiming her for themselves on which account the king fought them and broke their power.

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\* See BLACKWOOD'S, May 1928, for two trophies captured in Persia and Afghanistan

@ See Megasthenes on India, quoted in THE ARYAN PATH, September 1953.

The Celtic *feinn* will now be described in some detail; more evidence of them survives than of other bodies, so far as is known, but the hope is repeated that this article may bring to light further material. The following quotations (slightly abbreviated) are from M.-L. Sjoestedt's *GODS AND HEROES OF THE CELTS*<sup>1</sup> and J. Logan's *SCOTTISH GAEL*<sup>2</sup>. The first runs—

"The 'fiana' are companies of hunting warriors, living as semi-nomads under the authority of their own leaders. They are represented as spending the season of hunting and warfare (Spring to Autumn) roaming the forests of Ireland in pursuit of game, or as guerillas. The later tales present them as the appointed defenders of their country against foreign invaders.<sup>3</sup> During the winter season they live mainly off the country like billeted troops. They are not under obedience to the king, with whom their leaders are often in conflict. The 'fiana' are not a race, nor are they tribes in the ordinary sense of the word, nor are they strictly speaking a caste. One is not born a 'feinid', or member of the 'fian'; one acquires that status by choice. And one must satisfy rigorous requirements. The candidate must have an advanced liberal education, being versed in the twelve traditional forms of poetry; and the heroes of the 'fiana' are poets as well as warriors. Moreover, the candidate must successfully undergo a series of ritual ordeals, analogous to the ordeals of initiation into secret societies. The ordeals are as follows: a hole is dug in the ground deep enough for a man to be buried in it to his waist. The candidate takes his place there armed only with his shield and a stick of hazel as long as his forearm. Then nine warriors throw their javelins at him together. If one javelin touches him, he is not accepted into the 'fian'. Then he must braid his hair and make his way through the forest. All the warriors pursue him, seeking to wound him. If he is caught, or if his weapons have trembled in his hands, or if a dead branch has cracked under his foot, or if a live branch has disturbed a single braid of his hair, he is not accepted. He must be able to draw a thorn out of his foot without slowing his speed, and leap over a hurdle as high as his forehead, and pass under a hurdle as low as his knee. From the day when, having fulfilled all these requirements, he is received as a 'feinid', he breaks all connection with his own clan. The members of his clan must pledge themselves not to claim compensation for his death or for any injury he may suffer, and he is not bound to avenge wrongs done to the clan. He is outside the system of collective responsibility which is the judicial expression of the unity of the clan. He is clanless, and has no other kindred, no social group save the "fian".

"While the 'feinid' is outside the tribe, he is not on that account outside the law, for the law recognises his position. The depredations that he does are legal, for as clanless he is also landless, and he is never represented as a brigand. No longer protected by his people, nor by their law, he at once acquires the right to secure justice for himself. "Reprisals" are an appanage of the 'feinid' just as hostages are an appanage of the king. More than that, the 'fiana' are counted among the institutions necessary to the prosperity of the tribe, provided that they are "without excess," that is to say provided that they restrict themselves within certain limits. Their members have a certain claim on the community: not only do they live off the people during the winter season, but they have a right of option upon the women of the tribe. No girl may be given in marriage until she has been offered to the 'fiana'. (The aim was to produce a strong breed. It is recorded in a South Uist tale).

1 Methuen & Co., 1949, pp. 82-90.

2 Smith, Elder & Co., 1831, vol i, pp. 146-149, 321-323.

3 M.-L.S. comments that this is a later development; but over this she is evidently mistaken.

'We see that the 'fiana' are established side by side with the tribe, and draw upon it, attracting its abnormal elements, all those individuals who feel out of place, or who have no place, within the tribe. But they are not merely aggregates of a social elements; the 'fiana' constitute a society independent of tribal society, and resting on a basis of initiation, not of family or territory. The non-Celtic element of the population, since they found themselves by definition excluded from the closed tribal society, must have contributed largely to the formation of this other society which was recruited openly and free from racial discrimination. But we have seen that the younger son of a royal family could choose the lot of the 'feinid', and that he did not thereby forfeit the right to return into the society to which he belonged by birth. The 'fiana' were not groups of subject aliens; they were fraternities of a type which is known elsewhere in the Indo-European world, and which were regarded as in some measure necessary to the well-being of Celtic society'.

A noteworthy corresponding test of endurance for warrior initiation comes from North America, recounted by "Grey Owl" in THE TREE. He tells—

'A young man of the Blackfoot nation, who was soon to be initiated as warrior, made a vow to go and stay beside this venerated tree (which by tradition represented the welfare of the Blackfoot) for five days and nights without food, in order to purge his soul of evil. And then, if he passed the tests, which were drastic, he would be made a warrior. Now it was the custom among the Indians to seek a patron animal, that should appear in a vision during a vigil such as this young man had undertaken, who would henceforward be his crest, his ensign to be painted on his shield. . . . He decided then to take the Bear for his patron beast, his totem. After his initiation the young man, now a warrior (since) he had passed his warrior's test so bravely, as the open wounds upon his breast so plainly showed—(for) the candidate was suspended on rawhide thongs skewered through loops cut into the flesh of his breast, and, throwing his weight on them, danced until the flesh tore out and released him.'

Logan's account of the Scottish *Catharn* (pronounced *ka-arn*) evidences a somewhat different system from the *fiana*—

'The Celtic chiefs took great pride in being surrounded by a numerous band of choice troops as guards. These were his own relations and clients, who were devoted to his service, and were the finest men of the tribe. The Germans were no less emulous in the number and appearance of their followers than the Gauls. It was their pride to be surrounded by a company of chosen young men for ornament and glory in peace, for security and defence in war. In battle, it was a shame for the Prince to be surpassed in feats of prowess, and scandalous for his followers not to equal their chief; and it was lasting infamy for them to return from the conflict when their leader was slain. Such a body was the Soldurii of the Gauls, "sworn friends," who never survived their commander. The 'luchdtachk' of the Highlanders was an exactly similar body in organisation and devotion to their chief, and it was composed of young men of the best families in the clan, who were expressly educated for the service. They were anciently armed with darts and dirks, and their special duty was to attend the person of their chief. Their favourite amusement was wrestling; and when the chiefs were visiting each other, it was usual for their followers to begin this exercise, often, when not prevented, resorting to downright fighting. This company was usually selected by the heir, who was himself obliged to demonstrate his right to command them, and his claim to the chieftainship, by giving a specimen of his valour. It was, therefore, customary for him to lead them on some desperate foray, from which they were expected to bring home a prey of cattle or other spoil, or die in the attempt. After this exploit, if successful, the fame of

the young chief and his associates was fully established. These companies were called 'catharn', a word signifying bands, otherwise pronounced 'cearnachs' and 'kerns'. A company of soldiers like the 'catharn' required to be kept in action, and as the tribe could not be always at war, they undertook expeditions to revenge old injuries, and procure booty, or exalt their military fame; but the favourite recreation with these warriors was to make a foray on the Lowland plains, and enrich themselves by 'valuable spoil'. (An identical Welsh custom, with household troops called 'teulu', is recounted by J. E. Lloyd in his HISTORY OF WALES).

'The following character is a curious specimen of an ancient Cetlic 'cearnach'. Viriath of Lusitania, Portugal, a captain of those robbers, was of incredible sobriety and vigilance. He was just and exact in dividing the spoil, and rewarding those who had behaved themselves valiantly in battle; nor did he ever covet to his own use any of the public monies, and, therefore, his men never shrank from any undertaking, however hazardous, when he commanded and led them on. In his leagues and treaties he was exactly faithful to his word, and always spoke plainly and sincerely what he intended. When, at his marriage, many gold and silver cups, and all sorts of rich carpets, were set forth to grace the solemnity, he held all on the point of his lance with scorn and contempt. When he had spoken for a considerable time with much wisdom and prudence, he concluded that it was the greatest imprudence to trust in the uncertain gifts of Fortune, since all those riches, so much esteemed by his father-in-law, were liable to be carried off by someone, on his spear's point. Viriath, therefore, neither washed nor sat down, nor did he partake of the rich dishes of meat, but took and distributed some bread and flesh among those that came along with him. After he had little more than tasted the meat himself, he ordered his bride to be brought to him, and having sacrificed in manner of the Celtiberians, he mounted her on horseback and straightaway carried her away to the mountains; for he accounted sobriety and temperance the greatest riches, and the liberty of his country, gained by valour, the surest possession.'

'The 'kern' (of Eire) were lightarmed, and excelled in the desultory manner of fighting, characteristic of the Gael; hence they acquired the appellation "the fighting men of the woods." The 'galloglas' were heavy armed: they were the tallest and strongest men of a clan, and were allowed a portion of meat double that of the other troops. Considerable dependence was placed on these soldiers, who were usually drawn up against cavalry. They received free quarters and payments either of money or victuals; every plough-land was also burdened with 'kern-tee', a payment rendered for the support of the 'cearnach'. A 'galloglas' usually attended the chief, whose duty was to prevent his master from being taken by surprise, and to rescue him from any sudden danger.'

The badge of the *catharn*, anglicised into 'keythong,' was the silver griffin, attributed to the British saint, David. His proper name was Dewi, "the Black," which is still his distinguishing colour; he was the "Black Man" rainmaker, who produced the thundercloud that, in the East, spelt good luck and prosperity. Thus we see him as the Celtic counterpart of much in Indian symbolism, and in particular of Indra; for, although Indra is a deity, it is a personification wherein (like the "Good Shepherd" designation of Hammurabi of Babylon) during the course of ages deity and man at times become confused. Indra's epithet Maghavan, "cloud borne" or "with clouds for a chariot," also has its counterpart in Gaelic as *Maghavenn*, "bear"; and this brings us back to the Great Bear and the *feinn*. There is a significant consistency observable in both griffin and sphinx, in that each has the same missing element, the Black Man or Waterman: he is the unrepresented archangel in the griffin, and the unrepresented seasonal sign in the sphinx;

so the conclusion suggests itself that his was the institution both served. That is to say they were emblems of something in the Waterman institution; and plainly, so it would seem, they were its military bodyguard, referred to in Welsh tradition as Dewi's "crest." Thus the *Catharn* or *Karn* take shape as a so-to-speak provincial body, while the *feinn* were national; both though were strictly select.

This explains the high ideals entertained. Black stood for Selflessness\*; and men desirous of serving had to undergo an extremely severe test for self-discipline before acceptance. The priesthood's test was equally, if not more, drastic; both required their candidates to prove themselves by trial (and fatal error) ready to lose their lives for the honour's sake. It is instanced in the nine javelin test quoted, the purpose of which is clarified by the Blackfoot vigil—"to purge his soul of evil": the candidate had to be able to discard any concern for self. By this means he joined the Immortals, gaining the assurance remarked by the Latin writer. The connection between self-discipline and immortality is not difficult to recognise: its underlying idea was that the more a man could cultivate a selfless frame of mind, the more did he become dissociated from any care about his mortal body, and the more nearly did his mind approximate to the part that was not mortal; on this basis rose various doctrines, inspiring the *feinn* and causing the effect—"Happy the folk on whom the Bear looks down...." For practical military purposes (and indeed for all) experience found it wise to teach that whatever the Unknown might, provided a man concentrated his whole endeavour on Duty, for others, devoid of self-interest, he could feel assured that he was taking the sure path to reward in the hereafter. What that reward might be was a matter for religious doctrine; philosophy only postulated that the way to it lay through abandonment of self-interest.

So intermixed have all the tribes and peoples become since the days when this military brotherhood was founded, that it is difficult to distinguish definitely between some of its relics. One point worth comment, though, is that while the Bear and Boar were certainly *Pikhten*, the Griffin seems to have been Aryan in origin; a differentiation which, however, is almost academic, as by the time of anything approaching historical record both were fused under the generic term Aryan. It is mentioned because pride of name deserves preservation, and fortunately dies hard. The history of the Griffin in Europe appears to be that it reached the west overland, up the Danube valley and down the Rhine; it came with the Cim-Erians or "Aryan Combine," the amalgam of Gael and Pict and Brython that had taken place ages earlier, probably as soon as they left their original homeland. Hence the same almost indistinguishable mixture in India, under the name Aryan. The leading Cim-Erian tribe had for its badge a lion; their name was Khatti, figuring in India as the Kathi of the Punjab and Kathiawar, who must surely be the forbears of the Sikh Singhs? In Asia Minor they were called both Khatti and Hitti; and in Europe they are found as Chatti and the Clan Chattan of Scotland, and the Hessi of Germany. Welsh tradition links the Cymri with the name Taprobane, which is also given to Ceylon, and is translated as "Well of Feinn."

With the Lion Cim-Erians presumably came the device for Escandera, a lion and blue sky-axe, betokening the earthly paradise the race has longed to create. The axe has left its name with several peoples connected with the *feinn* and *karn*: in Europe they were called Pelasgians, derived from the Babylonian *pilakku* "axe," which reappears in other emblems associated with them such as the woodpecker, *pelekas* the "axe bird," and the stroks, *pelargoi*, their nickname; both Arcadians and Orcadians were Pelasgian. In the East the axe was *parasus*, from which have

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\* See THE ARMY QUARTERLY, 1957, "The Gods of War".

come the Persian "Parsees" and the Indian Parasu-Rama, the king who found it necessary to subdue the Kshattriyas. Both names are likely to furnish clues to more evidence. It is noticeable that the name Rama recurs more than once in connection with the subject: there is Bala-Rama "of the Plough," another word for the Great Bear; there are Rama Chandra's "Bear" allies; and there is Rama himself as reincarnation of the Boar-deity Vishnu. It is more than mythology, it is forgotten history.

A final suggestion will be made as to what may perhaps be a clue. Just as the star Arctur and the Seven of the Great Bear "chariot" inspired the Pikhten, so it would seem that the star Auriga, likewise, called "charioteer," and the Seven Kriddikas (Pleiads, lying in the Bull) may have represented a corresponding battle-wagon to a people dedicated to the Bull. Karttikeya being the "god of war," whose name came from them, the inference seems almost indubitable. Behind whatever tale that contains there lies also the parallel of the seven planets and their nameless leader: the view has already been expressed that Skanda (Mars) used once to represent Determination, the eight principle and that of the leader; so, if that be correct, the leader's designation Skanda, who is Karttikeya, declares the whole purpose for which the military chariot was being driven—Escandera, the earthly paradise of social perfection.

Summarised, this ancient military institution of *feinn* and *kern* was organised with ascetic features deserving of consideration today:

the Object—was to safeguard the race's endeavour to achieve its social ideal, expressed in the name El Escandera, and delineated by the divine Hand which they trusted would guide them to it.

Morally—candidates for enrolment had to renounce self-interest of any kind, and prove themselves ready to sacrifice their lives for Duty.

Physically—they had to pass drastic tests for skill and endurance.

Materially—they had to be content with a sparse livelihood, devoid of luxury.

Socially—they relinquished all ties with their immediate kindred and became servants of the public, or of an even wider cause—the Common Weal.

The ideal which this institution served though, the Aryan Combine, has vanished; its inherent weakness has been the peoples' inability to keep united. The Hand they trusted would guide them is now a curio sold to tourists. Therein perhaps lies the explanation, which is a moral one: the midfinger that ought to be Selflessness has never entirely ceased to be Luck; the philosophy that the way to the future lies in renouncement of self-interest over the present has never been adopted wholeheartedly. It is extraordinary that such wisdom propounded thousands of years ago should not yet have been put into effective practice, when compared with the strides made in science for material welfare. We are gaining control over physical nature but not over human nature; yet all experience and past wisdom teaches that our aim, Happiness, is within us. The *feinn* served that principle.

Their Manual of Morale has survived; it is the pack of playing cards! The four suits are their reminder for the four factors in life lived sensibly. No attempt will be made to trace their evolution; as they now stand they signify—

Clubs—the Intellectual factor—the name El Escandera and the principle of Unworldliness, the "sky-way" to happiness. The King is named "Alexander."

Spades—the Moral factor—derived from ‘espados’ “swords,” but their shape is “pikes,” pikemen or soldiers. The principle of Selflessness.

Diamonds—the Physical and Material factors—they represent square pieces of money; but their name ‘carreaux’ includes too the analogy of moral prosperity.

Hearts—the Social factor—the principle of Goodwill; their shape was probably that of the wine-cup which stimulates it.

Thus Spades are the memory of the *Feinn*, the Black Warriors. And it is of interest that “Black Warrior” is the Chinese name for the northern quarter of the compass, which is the Black Waterman’s in Cim-Erian symbolism, or alternatively the archangel Uriel “spirit of the Bear,” or Pheniel “spirit of the *Feinn*.” Much of old Chinese philosophy is Aryan; and a return to it offers the best hope for the future.

Chapter V of the Manual is “The Joker.” It contains rules for the discarded element, Luck. They are brief: it is called “the Fool,” just as the middle finger is “the Fool’s finger”; it is a foolish card to gamble on, but if it does turn up it takes precedence over all. Here the Manual stops transferring the Unknown to theology. But a footnote to the text advises cultivating the strategy of a poker face. So now we know how the Black Warriors spent their spare time !

## AUSTRALIA'S ANTARCTIC SAGA

By NORMAN BARTLETT

**I**N December, 1959, the twelve nations actively interested in Antarctica successfully neutralised the world's coldest continent from the cold war. Under treaty the nations concerned agreed to promote co-operation in scientific investigation and to exchange freely the scientific information gained there.

The Antarctic Treaty specifically forbids measures of a military nature in Antarctica and provides for inspection by national observers to guard against them. A Special Committee for Antarctic Research, established by the International Council of Scientific Unions, has been set up to co-ordinate research at an international level. Parties to the treaty are the Governments of Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America.

Of the twelve nations concerned Australia has had the longest continuous experience of scientific investigation in Antarctica. An Australian National Antarctic Research Expedition set up the world's first permanent Antarctic Research Station at Mawson in 1953. Davis, a second permanent station, was established in 1956 and Australia acquired a third mainland station early in 1959 when ANARE took over the custody and administrative control of the U.S. base at Wilkes.

Side issue to the new Treaty was a decision last January to end the 30-year-old association of the Royal Australian Air Force with Antarctic exploration. An Australian, Sir Hubert Wilkins, was one of the first explorers to use aircraft in the polar regions, when he led two British expeditions to Graham Land in 1928 and 1929. Shortly afterwards, Flying Officer S. A. Campbell and Pilot Officer E. Douglas of the RAAF accompanied Mawson's 1929-31 British, Australian and New Zealand Expedition to MacRobertson Land.

Using a Moth seaplane, the RAAF pilots did valuable reconnaissance flights and helped establish that a real continent existed under the ice cap, with its main bulk towards the Indian Ocean, as Captain Cook had forecast 160 years before. A second flight occurred in 1936 and when the Australian National Antarctic Research Expedition was organised in 1947 the RAAF was allocated an important and continuous part in its operations.

The RAAF Antarctic Flight was finally abandoned following the loss of a Dakota and Beaver aircraft last December in an 116-mile-an-hour wind which tore the Beaver to pieces and blew the Dakota ten miles across ice and snow. ANARE now operates a Beaver, under contract with the de Havilland Pty. Ltd., and two helicopters, on charter from Helicopter Utilities Ltd.

Australian interest in Antarctica is a natural consequence of Australia's proximity to the southern continent (the Antarctic coast is only 1,800 miles from Hobart, Tasmania, less than the distance from Hobart to Perth, capital of Western Australia) and the prominent part played by Australians in the exploration of the world's last unexplored land mass. This interest culminated in the establishment of scientific investigation on a permanent footing under ANARE. Since 1949, ANARE has been administered by the Antarctic Division of the Department of External Affairs under the direction of Phillip Law.

The south polar regions are the most intensely cold place known to man, falling to 120 degrees below zero, compared with the North Pole's minimum of 60

below. Cold air slides down the icy slopes of the huge land mass that surrounds the pole and strikes the warmer sea, creating a partial vacuum into which the wind rushes at an average of 50 miles an hour and often at twice that velocity.

The icy solitudes of these grim regions have taken savage toll from the men who challenge them. In the old dog-and-sled days many died or suffered extreme privation in desperate attempts to reach the pole. Nowadays, with all the resources of modern science, the casualty rate is smaller but conditions are still hard and brook no easy indifference. The attitude has changed, too. At first, men from different nations competed in reckless attempts to be first at the pole. Now, their descendants co-operate in a concerted endeavour to piece together knowledge won painfully by weathering the worst winter in the world.

Shackleton's expedition of 1907-8 was a classic example of dog-and-sled techniques. Three Australians accompanied Shackleton south in the 200-ton sealer, Nimrod. They were Edgeworth David (later Sir Edgeworth), a 50-year-old professor of Geology at Sydney University. Douglas Mawson (later Sir Douglas), 25-year-old lecturer in Mineralogy at Adelaide University and Leo Arthur Cotton, now Professor of Geology and Physical Geography at Sydney University.

Shackleton chose David to lead a party in search of the magnetic pole while he, himself, concentrated (unsuccessfully) on reaching the true pole. Douglas Mawson, a six-foot contrast to the slight, bent, grey-haired Professor was a member of David's party, which included a Scotch physician named Forbes Mackay.

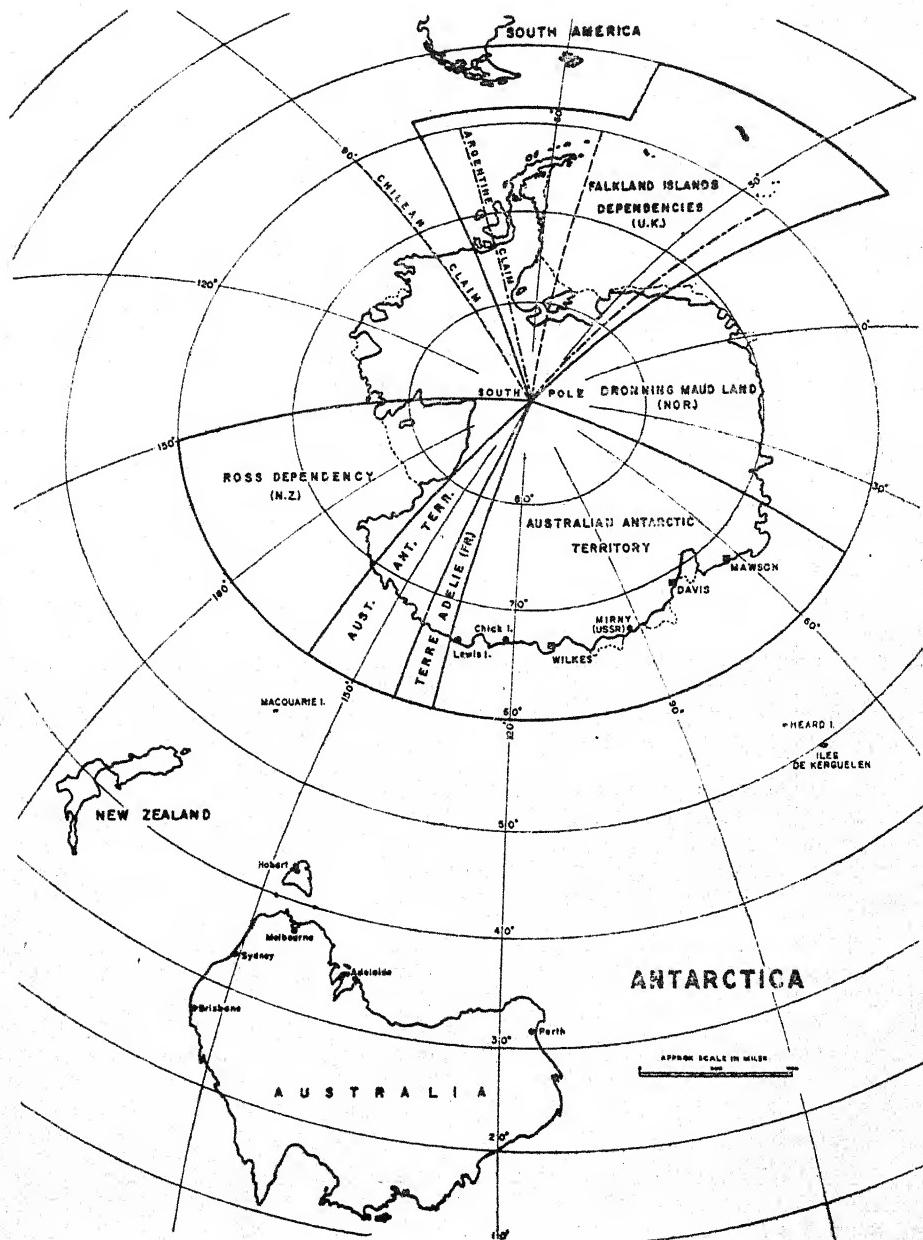
David's plan was to travel 245 miles along the edge of Antarctica and then turn inland for about 220 miles towards where he hoped to locate magnetic pole. Shackleton had arranged a rendezvous with the expedition ship, Nimrod, on the coast at the point where David's party planned to turn inland. The trip, therefore, entailed nearly 500 miles on the outward journey and another 200 miles back to the rendezvous with the Nimrod.

At first, David, Mawson and Mackay made an advance of only four miles each day. To achieve this distance entailed travelling at least twelve miles, most of it hauling a loaded sled. The party had two sleds. The loaded weight of each was about a quarter of a ton. They first dragged No. 1 sled about half-a-mile and then walked back to haul No. 2 sled level and so on over all the weary miles.

On October 23, they decided that this rate of progress was not enough to enable them to reach the magnetic pole and keep the rendezvous with the Nimrod on the date planned. On October 29, therefore, they halved their rations, leaving a depot of food and equipment, and made a dash forward, relying on seal meat as a supplementary ration.

Travelling by night and sleeping by day, eking out their meagre rations as best they could, the indomitable trio by November 22 reached the formidable Drygalski Ice Barrier, a rugged expense of jagged surfaces and heavy crevasses that took a fortnight to cross. Here Professor David had a narrow escape from death. He broke through the rotten 'lid' of a crevasse and hung there by his fingers until Mawson, who was busy inside a tent changing photographic plates, came to his rescue.

On the far side of the Drygalski Barrier, where they were to meet the Nimrod on their return journey, they made another depot and pushed inland with only one sled, a total load of 670 lb including provisions for seven weeks. The route lay over glaciers to a plateau and, on the first attempt, they were forced back by a labyrinth of crevasses and pressure ridges. It was now December 20 and their



—Courtesy: Department of External Affairs, Government of Australia

chances of reaching the magnetic pole and returning to the Nimrod by February 1 seemed remote. But they made another attempt and this time succeeded in reaching the dry crisp snow of the plateau.

At 6,000 feet they had difficulty in breathing the rarefied air. Their breath froze into lumps of ice that stuck their Burberry helmets to their beards and moustaches. While skin on their lips peeled leaving the flesh raw. Mawson's lips were so bad that each morning he had to force his lips apart because they were stuck together with frozen blood.

On January 25, Mawson took magnetic observations and found they were only a few miles from the magnetic pole. Next day they reached it, hoisted the Union Jack, in accordance with Shackleton's instructions, and began their return journey. To keep their rendezvous with the Nimrod they had to cover 249 miles in fifteen days, an average of more than 16 miles a day. Fortunately, the weather favoured them. With a following wind they hoisted a sail on the sled and had difficulty in keeping up with it.

They reached the rendezvous point on February 3 but the Nimrod was not there. A blizzard blew up and things began to look grim but next day, February 4, the Nimrod showed up. "They were a curious-looking group", wrote Captain Evans later. "Abnormally lean, because they had been reduced to very short commons for some weeks, they were the colour of mahogany, with hands that resembled the talons of birds of prey."

Shackleton's expedition began what Professor David afterwards called the "over-crowding of the South Pole". In 1910-11, Britain, Norway, Germany and Japan each sent expeditions south. Amundsen, the Norwegian explorer, reached the true pole on December 14, 1911, beating the Englishman, Captain R. F. Scott, by a month. Scott and his companions in the heroic dash to be first, perished on the return journey. Several Australians were members of Scott's expedition.

In January, 1911, Mawson, fired by his adventures with Shackleton, proposed that the Australian Society for the Advancement of Science should sponsor an Antarctic Expedition. The Society approved Mawson's plan and voted £1,000 towards the preliminary expenses. The expedition cost £45,000 and the Australian State Governments made big contributions.

In the summer of 1911-12, the Australian expedition established a meteorological station on Macquarie Island, south-east of Tasmania, and landed two parties on the Antarctic mainland. One area they named King George Land and the other Queen Mary Land. The newly-discovered lands were explored by sledge parties. Meanwhile, the expedition's ship, the Aurora, under Captain J. K. Davis, afterwards Commonwealth Director of Navigation, charted new coastal territory which was called Wilkes Land, after Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, Commodore of an 1839 American expedition.

Tragic climax of the expedition was an epic land journey into country east of Commonwealth Bay by Mawson, Dr. Xavier Mertz, a German scientist, and Lieutenant Ninnis, of the Royal Fusiliers. It was a nightmare journey. Ninnis disappeared into a crevasse with most of the food early on the return journey. Mawson and Mertz had ten days' food between them and none for the dogs. Twenty-five days later, Mertz died of exhaustion and starvation. Until then, he and Mawson had lived mostly on stewed sled dog.

Twenty days after the death of Mertz, Mawson, who had struggled over terrible country criss-crossed with crevasses, reached the winter depot just in time

to see the smoke of the Aurora disappearing over the horizon. Captain Davis had been unable to wait longer because of closing ice. A small wintering party had stayed to watch for the missing men and with them Mawson had to endure another winter of blackness and blizzard before the world learned the story of his ordeal.

The expedition added 1,000 miles to the chartered coastline, added detailed knowledge to a formerly unknown sector and established beyond doubt the existence of an extensive land mass under the ice about the South Pole.

Hubert Wilkins, the youngest of an Australian sheep farmer's 13 children, inaugurated what some commentators call the "mechanical era" of Antarctic exploration. Wilkins drifted into exploration from news gathering as a movie cameraman for Pathe. He attracted the attention of Stefansson, the Norwegian explorer, who made him second-in-command of his 1913-1917 expedition to the Arctic. During the last stages of World War I, Wilkins was official photographer and air observer to the Australian Army in Flanders. He won a Military Cross and bar, two mentions-in-despatches, and the comment from Sir John Monash, the Australian Commander-in-Chief: "I do not know a braver man."

In 1921-22, Shackleton took Wilkins to the Antarctic as his second-in-command. Later the young Australian (he was 34) spent three years exploring Arnhem Land, in the Northern Territory of Australia, for the British Museum. In 1928, with Lieutenant Carl Eilson, an American pilot, he made a notable ten-hour non-stop flight across the high tableland of Graham Land, Western Antarctica, and suggested that it was an island archipelago. Another Australian, John Rymill, has since shown that Graham Land is part of the Antarctic continent.

In 1929 and 1930, with British backing, Wilkins made several exploratory flights in conjunction with the research ship, William Scoresby. Later he made two flights with Lincoln Ellsworth, the American explorer. The Wyatt Earp, Ellsworth's base ship was afterwards acquired by the Royal Australian Navy and used for ANARE's initial trips to Antarctica, under Group-Captain Stuart Campbell, who had piloted Mawson's moth plane in a 1928 expedition. From then on the RAAF had an assured place in Antarctic exploration.

With ANARE working permanently in the Antarctic the RAAF soon piled up flying hours on flights of discovery as well as on routine journeys with scientists and freight. Each year, pilots and ground crews of the Antarctic Flight operated through the long winter under the most hazardous weather conditions in the world. The men were relieved each summer, when the ANARE relief ship made its annual call at Mawson. Communications between Mawson and other mainland stations were kept up by a regular service—the first regular "airline" in Antarctica. The RAAF men ran it to schedule right through the sunless, stormy Antarctic winter.

Two Beavers were lost in the 1958-59 season. They were cabled down at the plateau airstrip about a mile south of Mawson and five hundred feet above sea level on the ice-cap of Antarctica. The Antarctic Flight had begun full-scale flying operations from the strip about three weeks before a series of summer blizzards, some of the worst weather ever recorded at Mawson, had reduced flying to almost nil. On the day the aircraft were lost the crews had fought to hold them with  $5\frac{1}{2}$  and 7-ton cables that broke like cotton under the strain.

"Both aircraft (Nos. 201 and 203) had been left tied down by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  and 7-ton cables to 'deadmen' manufactured from railway sleepers and positioned between the main undercarriage wheels," wrote Flight Sergeant Stewart Bell afterwards.

"Similar 'deadmen' with heavy manila rope, held the real fuselage. Both aircraft were fitted with wing-lift spoilers along the main-planes and had been further attached to 'deadmen' at each wing tip by stout ropes."

First, high winds broke the cables and ropes tying down aircraft 201. Caught in a 50-knot wind the plane began to blow across the ice. Squadron Leader J. C. Sandercock, commanding officer of the Antarctic Flight, with Sergeant Bell, Sergeant Rippon and Sergeant McIntyre gave chase in a weasel, or snowmobile.

"Sandercock opened the throttle and roared across the plateau to intercept the aircraft," said Bell. "As the vehicle slewed to a halt, he sprang out and literally clawed his way to the Beaver cockpit. Even before McIntyre removed the rudder chock, the Beaver engine had burst into life, and Sandercock was holding the aircraft against the howling wind."

For two hours Sandercock fought to hold Beaver 201 on the ground struggling to manoeuvre the aircraft into position for safe anchorage. Time and again, wind under the planes lifted the plane as the pilot gunned the motor in an attempt to slide back to where men lay full length on the cusped ice (to avoid being blown into the spinning airscrew) waiting to make it fast. With only rudder control Sandercock was unable to prevent damage to wingtips and tailplanes as the light aircraft rocketed and swung. Finally, everything was ready to make fast the wind changed and the aircraft became airborne again.

Meanwhile, Beaver 203 had torn free its entire 'deadmen' and glissaded down the hill dragging its anchors. Bell and McIntyre gave chase in a D4 tractor and, by using the dozer blades, were able to secure the 'deadmen' and hold the plane.

With more men and more machines and the use of a 20-ton which cable the two planes were at last made fast against the force of the wind. The crews, exhausted from their battle, retired to the shelter of a freighter caravan which had brought up reinforcements. As they busied themselves with hot drinks a shout brought them to the caravan windows. As they looked, the starboard wing tie-down on Beaver 201 parted and the aircraft began its violent death throes.

"Almost immediately the entire tail wheel and ski assembly was wrenched away and rolled crazily across the ice," said Bell. "Within seconds the port main-wheel and undercarriage folded up and was followed by its opposite number. As the aircraft crashed heavily on to its fuselage, gallons of high octane fuel flooded the ice."

A short time later, Beaver 203 again broke loose. The 7½-ton cables parted and the aircraft slithered into a depression, wrecking the starboard undercarriage and mainplane. Meanwhile, 201 continued to dash itself to pieces, partially held down by the 20-ton winch cable. A wing blew loose and remained airborne for more than 100 yards, hurtling past the caravan and taking with it a stout radio mast. The next gust sent the port mainwheel ski shooting past on the other side of the caravan.

"The wind continued to rise," Bell said. "By 7 p.m. gusts were estimated at 120 m.p.h. They screamed around our shelter like a living creature in agony. We were able to make contact with Mawson on a spare receiver in the caravan. Luckily the metal sledge runners affixed to the van had become iced into the plateau surface, but it was uncertain whether our shelter would stay fast. . . .

"Radio contact was maintained with an anxious base most of the night. We knew that should fate deal still more harshly with us and tear the securing cables

from our shelter, we would be beyond help, but somehow, the sound of voices from base seemed to lessen the tension we felt. When we were at last able to return to base we all felt that at last, to echo our leader's words on a previous tragedy—"no man could have done or risked more".

In December, 1960, an even worse blizzard destroyed two more aircraft belonging to the RAAF Antarctic Flight. One was a Dakota, specially fitted with skis, which had not completed six-months Antarctic operations. The Dakota's first important flight was made from Mawson on August 7, last year, to pick up equipment left by a dog sled party near Cape Boothby in April. Ten days later, the aircraft flew 1,000 miles through Enderby Land, south-west of Mawson, to measure the altitude of a plateau which was found to be 9,000 feet at the highest point.

Throughout last year, the Dakota and Beaver belonging to the RAAF Flight maintained a full programme of similar flying operations, including photographic flights, flights for establishing or replenishing supply dumps, reconnaissance runs in preparation for summer projects and flights in support of field parties moving on the ice cap by means of tractor trains or dog sledge.

Then, in the first week of December, a brief message to Canberra reported the loss of both aircraft in the worse blizzard ever recorded at Mawson. The barometer fell to 27.9 inches. Hurricane force winds bore down on the station and the airstrip on the ice plateau behind the station. Gusts at Mawson were as high as 116 m.p.h., with the wind howling for hours at 80 m.p.h. and on the plateau, at the airfield, the wind velocities were even greater. So violent was the wind that during attempts to save the aircraft men were lifted bodily into the air and thrown yards away to slide helplessly over the ice until rescued. Only the prompt action of men in holding on to each other prevented others being blown away with the wrecked parts of the Beaver aircraft which they were trying to save. Nothing further could be done without jeopardising the lives of the men.

The Dakota, which had previously weathered winds of 110 m.p.h., broke away the most thorough tiedown methods, shearing through 15-ton cables and blowing ten miles across the plateau. The Beaver was not heavy enough to break its cables but was blown to pieces almost as it stood. On this occasion, the workshop caravan on the airfield also broke its guy and was blown over, luckily without serious injury to any of the men.

So, although the tools are different, men still battle against great risk to conquer the Antarctic. What is the drive behind all this human aspiration and endurance? The best answer has been given by Australian poet-playwright, Douglas Stewart, in his internationally-known radio drama, "The Fire On the Snow", which Tyrone Guthrie introduced on the B.B.C. as "one of the few important works of art which radio has so far produced."

"The Fire On the Snow", an epic drama of Scott's 1911 expedition, grapples with the question why men explore frozen continents and climb dangerous heights in the Himalayas. It has been called notable for its "antithetical symbolism of ice and flame, the frozen rigour of the task and the fire of man's hardihood. . . ."

The crucial scene comes when Scott and his scientific chief of staff, Edward Adrian Wilson, lay dying in their tent, Bowers dead beside them:

Scott: I remember the black flag that told us about Amundsen, That fatal day.

Wilson: We shouldn't have cared.

Scott: . . . . But we did,

And the Pole was ghosts and ruins, and the snow on our mouths  
Was ashes, ashes. And Evans crumbled away,  
And the Soldier after him.

How am I justified,  
Wilson, how am I justified for Oates and Evans,  
And Bowers . . . . and you?

Wilson: All of us chose to do it,

Our own will brought us, our death on the ice  
Was foreseen by each of us; accepted. Let your mind be at peace.  
I have seen this death as the common fate made clearer,  
And cleaner, too, this simple struggle on the ice.  
We dreamed, we so nearly triumphed, we were defeated  
As every man in some great or humble way  
Dreams, and nearly triumphs, and is always defeated,  
And then, as we did, triumphs again in endurance.  
Triumph is nothing; defeat is nothing; life is  
Endurance; and afterwards, death. And whatever death is,  
The endurance remains like a fire, a sculpture, a mountain  
To hearten our children. I tell you,  
Such a struggle as ours is living; it lives after death  
Purely, like a flame, a thing burning and perfect.

## THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

By MAHENDRA KUMAR

A VARIETY of events dominated the international scene during the last quarter, some generating optimism for a settlement of some long-standing problems and some either creating new problems or marring the prospects of solution of old ones. Signs of a considerable improvement in East-West relations were seen in the Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting conducted in an atmosphere of ease and goodwill. The lessening of tension helped the progress of an agreement on at least a temporary settlement of the Laotian question which has been disturbing the peace of South-East Asia for almost a year now. The other world problem which is a little older than the Laos problem—that of the Congo—also showed some indication of a temporary solution in an agreement on an early reconvening of the Congolese Parliament. Asia once more experienced the uprooting of civil authority by the army. This time it was in South Korea. But a change of Government came not in South Korea alone, but also in Iran, Austria, Tanganyika, Sierra Leone and Kuwait. In the first two, the change was effected as a result of a dissolution of Parliament and the holding of elections respectively. While Sierra Leone and Kuwait achieved full independence during the quarter, Tanganyika attained internal self-government with the promise of full independence later. With the exception of Kuwait the change in all these countries was peaceful. As a result of Kassam's claim on Kuwait as part of Iraqi territory and the consequent deployment of forces in the Persian Gulf, Kuwait became another cold war spot as soon as it gained independence.

During the quarter three countries witnessed unsuccessful revolts either civil or military. They were Ceylon, Cuba and Algeria. In all these places, the revolt was suppressed almost as soon as it flared up. One remarkable achievement for mankind during the quarter was the successful Soviet manned flight in space.

### LAOS

On April 1, the Soviet Union replied to the British proposals for a cease-fire in Laos. The reply which was officially handed over to the British Ambassador on April 16, called for a cease-fire, reconvening of the International Supervisory Commission, and an International Conference on Laos. After a week's negotiations Great Britain and the Soviet Union agreed on a plan for the solution of the Laotian problem. Both of them, who are the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China on April 24, jointly appealed to all military authorities, parties and organisations in Laos a call to cease-fire. They also requested India to convene in Delhi the International Supervisory Commission for Laos. It was also decided that the 14-Nation Conference would start its work in Geneva on May 12, to evolve a formula for the solution of the Laotian tangle.

On the same day as the Anglo-Soviet declaration was made, Pathet Lao guerillas captured the strategic town of Vang Vieng which is situated at the junction of the roads which lead to Vientiane and the capital of the Royal Government, Luang Prabang, and which has one of the finest airfields in Laos. This was believed to be the result of Pathet Lao rebels' decision to intensify their military operations following the U.S. decision taken in response to a request from Prince Boun Oum's Government, to establish a military advisory and assistance group in Laos.

The Soviet-British proposal for cease-fire and the 14-Nation Conference was welcomed by all the three warring groups in Laos. However, the question of

Laotian representation at this Conference proved to be a serious one. To solve this question Prince Souvanna Phouma summoned a conference of the three wings—the Right-wing, the Left-wing, and the neutralists—to be held in Xieng Khouang. Prince Boun Oum's Royal Government did not like this idea because sending his representatives to this conference would mean, in his view, recognition of Prince Phouma's Government.

The conference of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos opened in New Delhi on April 23, with Mr. S. Sen of India in the chair (India is the Chairman of the Commission). The Conference lasted three days. Other members of the Commission were Canada and Poland. The Conference was addressed by Prime Minister Nehru. It was generally recognised by all the participants that measures to effect complete cessation of hostilities in Laos were the prime necessity. The Commission also felt that the Laotian problem could be best solved by adhering to the 1954 Geneva Agreement, the basis of which was "military neutrality" for Laos. On May 1, the Commission sent its report to the two Co-Chairmen (Britain and the U.S.S.R.). The report suggested that the International Supervisory and Control Commission should visit Laos. But the Soviet Union insisted that the Commission should await the coming into force of a cease-fire before leaving for Laos.

Meanwhile, the truce talks in Laos continued to be delayed because of the disagreement among the different groups over the question of the venue, time, and manner of cease-fire talks. The chances of these talks coming off became still gloomier when it was reported on April 29, that the Pathet Lao forces had taken control of the post of Muong Phin in Savannakhet province. The situation took a serious turn when Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of the Cambodian State, withdrew his sponsorship of the 14-Nation International Conference for Laos and suggested that the various Laos factions should meet in the Cambodian capital, Phnom Penh, to discuss cease-fire.

The situation, however, improved when fighting stopped on the vital front south of Vang Vieng on May 1, and talks began on a cease-fire. On May 4, the Boun Oum's Government accepted the suggestion of the neutralist leaders that a meeting of the Laos warring factions be held in a "no-man's land" on May 5. Cease-fire became effective throughout the country from 8 a.m. on May 5. But the question of Laotian representation at the 14-Nation Conference still remained a hard nut to crack. All efforts made by Prince Souvanna Phouma and the Boun Oum's Government for an agreed formula for a united delegation to the Geneva Conference failed because of the intransigent attitude of the rebel Pathet Lao side. On May 7, however, the members of the International Control and Supervisory Commission left New Delhi for Laos and arrived there the next day. The Souvanna Phouma group and the rebel Pathet Lao threatened not to cooperate with the International Control Commission.

The 14-Nation Geneva Conference scheduled to open on May 12, also had to be postponed by four days. The main reason was disagreement among the big parties on the question whether cessation of hostilities in Laos could be considered as a *de facto* cease-fire for the purpose of the Conference. The Russians and the Chinese maintained that since fighting had stopped in Laos, the Conference should not be postponed pending its verification of the International Commission. But the British and the French thought that at least a message from the Indian Chairman of the Control Commission conveying his satisfaction with the cessation of fighting was necessary for the purpose of the Conference. However, the American attitude was most refractory inasmuch as it insisted on a "formal verification" of cease-fire and guarantee against any violation of the cease-fire line. Further

the two Co-Chairmen, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, could not agree in time on how Laos should be represented in the Geneva Conference. This issue was, however, solved after the report from the International Commission was received saying that fighting had really stopped and that this was sufficient for the purpose of the Conference. But still the question of Laotian representation remained a stumbling block. Representatives of Prince Souvanna Phouma and the Pathet Lao group reached Geneva well in time, but the nominees of Prince Boun Oum's pro-Western Royal Laotian Government kept out. It was only after intense diplomatic activity that the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to the participation of all the three Laotian delegations—pro-Western, pro-Communist, and neutralist. India's Defence Minister Mr. Krishna Menon played a notable part in making this agreement possible. The Conference which opened on May 16, was attended by twelve instead of fourteen nations. The two absentees were Thailand and South Vietnam. The Royal Laotian delegation refused to sit at the Conference table with the Souvanna Phouma group and the Pathet Lao group.

On the second day of the Conference the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, put forward a three-point American plan to safeguard the neutrality of Laos. This was more or less the same which Lord Home, the British Foreign Secretary, had presented the previous day. Both these Western plans called for a declaration by Laos to pursue a policy of neutrality, a declaration by Powers of the Geneva Conference to respect the independence and neutrality of Laos, and the setting up of an effective international machinery to guarantee Laotian neutrality. Mr. Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister, tabled two resolutions on behalf of his country, one dealing with the independence and neutrality of Laos and the other demanding the removal of foreign military personnel in the country.

On May 18, Mr. Krishna Menon put forward India's views on the question of Laos's neutrality. He insisted that neutrality was something which could not be imposed upon Laos and that it was, in fact, a matter of Laos's own capacity. He, however, recommended that two study groups should be set up to examine the two sets of proposals put forward by the East and the West.

Meanwhile, efforts to form a united delegation to the Geneva Conference continued and it was agreed on May 24, among all the three participating groups in peace talks at Na Mon (Laos) that a single delegation should represent all factions of Laos in the Geneva talks. On May 26, it was also decided in the Na Mon parleys to go ahead with the formation of a coalition government representing the Right-wing, the Left-wing and the neutralists and at the same time set up a military group incorporating all the three factions. The military group was to discuss the rules of the cease-fire and armistice and the formation of a joint military tripartite inspection team and the terms of reference and tasks of the International Control Commission.

On the other hand, the adjourned 14-Nation Geneva Conference on Laos could not come off before June 13 due to the differences between the Soviet Union and the United States created by the capture of the mountain top base of Padong by Pathet Lao forces and the apprehension of renewed fighting in Laos. In the 14-Nation Conference, the Soviet Union charged the United States of "blocking a neutrality agreement" on Laos. The U.S., on the other hand, accused the Soviet Union of supplying the "forces of the rebels" in Laos through Xieng Khouang.

On June 19 three-day talks between the Right, Left and Neutralist Laotian Premiers opened in Zurich. These talks were preceded by a number of parleys conducted in an attempt to bring all the rival factions of Laos round a conference table. This Conference agreed, in general, on the aim of a neutral, sovereign, and

unified Laos. But while the Boun Oum delegation wanted that Laos should follow a policy of peace and neutrality to be defined by the 14-Nation Conference, the other two delegations wanted to add that such a policy should be in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Laos. However, in a joint communiqué issued by the three factions after the talks which ended on June 22 a declaration was made of their intention to form a "Government of National Union". The communiqué was signed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prince Souphanouvong, and Prince Boun Oum. On June 25 Prince Souvanna Phouma expressed the hope that a Laotian Coalition Government would be formed in July. But his half-brother, Prince Souphanouvong, declared that his group could accept the coalition Government only if Prince Souvanna Phouma became the Prime Minister. On June 27 the Royal Laotian Government of Prince Bonn Oum ended its boycott of the 14-Nation Geneva Conference on Laos and participated in its 24th session.

The situation in and about Laos has thus been taking new turns. It still, however, remains to be seen whether this agreement is really going to solve the Laotian problem or it is just a temporary fact of convenience.

#### CONGO

On April 5, Belgium announced that she had decided to implement the February 21 Security Council resolution demanding the withdrawal of her military and para-military personnel and political advisers from the Congo. Earlier, a new Congolese State named Kwango had been proclaimed within the framework of the Congolese Confederation with Mr. Albert Delvanx as President. On April 7, Ethiopian troops disarmed the Katanga forces and took them prisoner to prevent clashes with rebel Baluba tribesmen in Kabale, a key railway junction in North Katanga. This was the first step in the application of the Security Council resolution allowing the U.N. Command to use force, if necessary, to check the situation which had possibilities of a civil war. On April 22, the Malayan U.N. troops occupied Katanga town. The same day the General Assembly also adopted a 100-million dollar budget for operations in the Congo up to October 31, 1961. Almost half of this amount would be met by the United States. Meanwhile Congolese leaders, with the exception of Antoine Gizenga, reached Coquilhatville in the Equator Province for talks about the future set-up of the Congo. But the situation did not show any sign of improvement. Rather, it worsened still further on April 26, when Mr. Tshombe and his Foreign Minister Mr. Evariste Kimba were arrested by armed Congolese soldiers when they were trying to fly to Elizabethville. This disturbed the round-table conference being held in Coquilhatville. It was also reported that on April 28 General Mobutu reached Coquilhatville with paratroopers and seized power and that all Congolese leaders attending the peace talks there were put under guard. On April 30 it was reported that the Congolese troops had captured the vital U.N. outpost of Port Franchi in north-west Kasai. This was considered to be the gravest set-back to the United Nations.

On May 7, after ten days of Mr. Tshombe's arrest, Mr. Justin Bomboko, the Congolese Foreign Minister, announced that Mr. Tshombe would be tried for high treason. This announcement came as a surprise since the Leopoldville Government had insisted that Mr. Tshombe was not under arrest but had only been put under guard to prevent his absence in Coquilhatville so long as the peace talks were on. Mr. Bomboko levelled four charges against Mr. Tshombe—killing of Baluba tribesmen in North Katanga, rebellion against the Congolese Central Government, illegal seizure of aircraft, ammunition and money of the Central Government when he declared Katanga independent in July 1960, and issuing "counterfeit" separate currency for Katanga. Two days later, however, a new decree known as

the "Act of Internment" was issued by the Congo Government under which the Government claimed legal powers to detain Mr. Tshombe for six months without trial.

On May 15 the Coquilhatville Conference leaders decided that the ex-Belgian Congo should in future be called "the Federal Republic of Congo". The conference had already approved on the previous day the broad outlines of a federal constitution.

It was also reported on May 16 that the pro-Lumumba regime of Mr. Antoine Gizenga in Stanleyville had arrested seven top political leaders and army officers. It was believed to be the result of a struggle for supremacy within the Lumumbist faction.

The United Nations was faced with a strange dilemma when it received a formal request, from both Mr. Joseph Kasavubu and Mr. Antoine Gizenga, for assistance in reconvening the Congolese Parliament and for the protection of Members of Parliament. While Mr. Gizenga wanted Parliament to meet in the Kamina base which is under U.N. occupation, Mr. Kasavubu preferred Leopoldville as the venue.

One more significant event took place towards the end of May when Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal resigned his job as U.N. Special Representative in the Congo. His resignation which was accepted by the U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld was due to Mr. Hammarskjöld's reluctance to send Mr. Dayal back to Leopoldville. It will be recalled that Mr. Dayal had gone to New York about four months ago to discuss the Congo situation with Mr. Hammarskjöld. The latter's unwillingness to send Mr. Dayal back to the Congo was apparently conditioned by the pressure from Congolese leaders and a section of the West. Mr. Hammarskjöld was eager to retain Dayal in New York as one of his advisers on the Congo but the latter declined the offer.

On June 3, the pro-Lumumbist Government of Kivu province led Mr. Adrien Omari was overthrown by a Kivu Provincial Assembly vote.

The month of June is significant for a number of attempts for an agreement on the time and venue of the reconvening of the Congolese Parliament. Meanwhile, Leopoldville was again in the grip of disturbances as a result of a rumour that Gen. Mobutu had unearthed a plot to kill him and other leaders. On June 19 after prolonged discussions the pro-Lumumbist Eastern Province Government headed by Mr. Antoine Gizenga agreed on a proposal for the meeting of the Congolese Parliament in Leopoldville under the protection of the United Nations. On June 20, the Katanga Government announced that Katanga was no longer a part of the former "Republic of the Congo". On June 22, President Tshombe of Katanga was freed from imprisonment by the Central Congolese Government. He was released on condition that Katanga's deputies would attend the Congolese Parliament.

According to a tentative agreement, the Congolese Parliament will meet on July 3. Another significant development was the signing of a pact between Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Ileo abolishing the frontiers of Katanga and the rest of the Congo. Thus the situation in the Congo showed signs of some improvement during the latter half of June. The release of Mr. Tshombe, the agreement of Katanga's participation in the Congolese Parliament and the conciliation between the Central Congolese Government and Antoine Gizenga are indeed hopeful signs. The joint communiqué issued as a result of a week's secret talks between the Congolese Government and the Gizenga regime in Stanleyville called upon military leaders to

keep themselves aloof from politics and submit unconditionally to whatever government constituted by Parliament. This appeal is directed particularly at General Mobutu who, it is reported, is by no means happy over this agreement. He is well aware that his power and influence in Congolese politics will be drastically reduced if the politicians reach a solution.

#### ARMY RULE IN SOUTH KOREA

A military coup d'etat led by the Army Chief of Staff, Lt.-General Do Yung Chang, took place in the South Korean capital, Seoul, on May 16. It was reported that Premier John Chang went into hiding as soon as the military junta took control of the capital. The Revolutionary Council announced that the safety of Dr. John Chang and his Ministers would be guaranteed if they would "come out of hiding" and resign, but "forceful measures" would be taken against those who refused to do so. However, President Yun, though kept under protective custody at his official residence, was still regarded as Head of State.

The coup was staged by high-ranking Generals who had been critical of "corrupt and incapable politicians". The coup leaders announced that the armed forces were "unable to contain themselves any longer" and, therefore, had taken all government powers because "we no longer trust corrupt and incapable politicians." One of the main reasons for the army's dissatisfaction with Dr. Chang the Premier is stated to be his "irresolute and lukewarm attitude" towards Communism. This is apparent from the six-point manifesto issued by the Revolutionary Council after the coup. The manifesto called upon the armed forces to strengthen South Korea's anti-Communist forces. The Revolutionary Council also announced that the new Government would maintain firm, unwavering and close affinities with all its anti-Communist allies of the free world. Other points of the manifesto were: firstly, elimination of all corruption in the Government and improvement in the people's living standards, secondly, building the national economy; thirdly, unification of Korea with a strong anti-Communist policy; fourthly respect for the provisions of the U.N. Charter, and fifthly, observance of all international treaties signed by the previous South Korean Governments. These were the aims of the army revolt. Lt.-General Do Yung Chang, Head of the Revolutionary Council, pledged to return control of Government to civilians after the aims of the revolt had been successfully achieved. He declared: "I make it clear that as soon as the revolutionary goals have been accomplished and the circumstances have become agreeable, we will without delay turn over the Government to civil control".

On May 17 some half a dozen Ministers of Dr. Chang's Cabinet were detained by the revolutionary forces. But soon after curfew was relaxed and martial law lifted. The same day the capital, Seoul, regained normalcy. But the aftermath of the coup continued. Within three days more than one thousand people "who had supported Communism" were arrested. On May 19 the South Korean President, Mr. P. O. Sun Yun, resigned. On May 20 the former Prime Minister, Dr. Chang and most of his Ministers were arrested and sent to jail. Six of them, however, were released on May 24. Prior to this a 13-man military cabinet had already been set up headed by the coup leader, Gen. Do Yung Chang. All political parties and social organizations were disbanded in South Korea. One of the strange decisions taken by the new military regime was the declaration that Government servants would have no holidays at all and would work on all the 365 days in a year.

Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910, and it remained under Japanese rule until the victorious American and Russian troops entered the country in 1945. The military authorities divided the country into two zones at the 38th Parallel.

This division has since then been perpetuated by the two States of South Korea and North Korea. The Republic of North Korea was formed in 1948 with Dr. Syngman Rhee as its first President. Hopes for a "unified and independent Korea" were shattered when North Korean troops invaded South Korea in 1950. Dr. Rhee got another term of Presidentship and continued to hold that office till August 1960 when he resigned as a result of widespread riots and violence following a students' agitation against Dr. Rhee's re-election in March last as President for the third term. After his resignation the second republic of South Korea was established with Dr. John M. Chang, leader of the Democratic Party and a staunch Roman Catholic, as the first Prime Minister.

Thus South Korea has been brought from autocracy to army rule. The true implications of the Korean coup of May 16 are not clearly discernible. General Chang has pleaded that the military had to intervene because the country was being "sold" to Communism. Indications, however, have been lacking to show that Dr. Chang's Government was becoming pro-Communist. Although it is true that owing to the pressure of the powerful student movement his Government was trying to establish some cultural contacts with North Korea, yet there was nothing publicly available to suggest that it was pursuing a policy of conciliation to the point of endangering the security of the State. But it certainly suffered from the drawback of inefficient administration and the misfortune of struggle for power between the old and the new wings of the Democratic Party. The greatest of South Korea's troubles is the absence of an effective leadership able to resist pressure from either the Left or the Right. This is why Prime Minister Chang was criticised by both. This is not to support either Chang the deposed Premier or Chang the General. The military coup of May 16 took place almost exactly a year after the downfall of Syngman Rhee. But neither the toppling of the Rhee regime nor the military revolt has solved the real problem of South Korea which is primarily economic. The economic condition of South Korea which has a population of twenty-five million is much worse than that of North Korea whose inhabitants number only nine million. The urge, specially among students, for closer cultural and educational contacts with North Korea is another problem. But this is frowned upon by the United States as well as by South Korea's military leadership. How far their antipathy will be able to prevent the Korean unification, at least cultural if not political, remains to be seen. It is not known whether the military coup has popular support. Press reports suggest it is doubtful. Even the three Wings of the South Korean Army did not see eye to eye at the time of the revolt. While the air force gave some support to General Chang the navy kept aloof. The combat troops were ordered to remain politically neutral by their Commander, General Ham Lun Lee. This means that the military junta led by General Chang who engineered the coup was in a sense isolated though not opposed by the majority of the Army. Thus the military coup has not solved any of the problems of South Korea.

#### UNSUCCESSFUL ARMY REVOLT IN ALGERIA

Algeria faced fresh trouble when, on April 22 a junta of retired French Generals seized its capital, Algiers, in a bloodless coup. It was described as a bid to "save Algeria". The Government in Paris immediately denounced these Generals as the "mad men of Algiers". President Charles de Gaulle announced that he was determined to take every action within his constitutional powers to crush the military uprising.

The revolt began when General Fernand Gambiez, Gaullist Commander-in Chief, Jean Morin, and Robert Buron were arrested. Main buildings were also surrounded and almost all communications with France were cut. A proclamation in

the name of four rebel Generals—Maurice Challe, Andre Zeller, Edmond Jouhaud and Raoul Salan—was issued which declared that the representatives of the “traitor” regime had been arrested and that there was a state of siege throughout Algeria. Within 24 hours the rebel junta succeeded in gaining control over three more chief cities of Algeria—Mostaganem, Oran and Constantine—as also of all airfields in the country. Reports were also current that the whole of Algeria and all units of the French armed forces had submitted to the authority of the rebel Generals. But the French Government admitted rebel success only in Oran and not in the whole of Algeria and claimed that the rebels controlled only a small number of military units most of whom were paratroops. In view of the situation created by this coup, President de Gaulle announced a state of emergency throughout France and assumed absolute powers on April 23 to meet the threat of civil war posed by the rebel insurrection in Algeria. On April 26 he succeeded in suppressing the revolt when General Challe, leader of the Army revolt was arrested and taken to Paris. The other three leaders of the revolt—General Salan, General Jouhaud, and General Zeller—managed to escape to Spain. Thus the army coup in Algeria collapsed as suddenly as it flared up.

#### TRIANGULAR SUMMIT

The U.S. President, Mr. Kennedy had three summit meetings during the quarter, one with the French President, General de Gaulle, in Paris from May 31 to June 2, the other with Mr. Khrushchev in Vienna on June 3 and 4, and the third with Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in London on June 5. On the first day of their meetings Mr. Kennedy and President de Gaulle mainly discussed Berlin, the problem of South-East Asia and the Geneva Conference on Laos. The two Presidents reached a “general agreement” on Berlin. The second day's talks between them extended from developments in the North Atlantic alliance to the new problems emerging from resurgent Africa. President Kennedy also explained at some length to President de Gaulle his views on foreign aid to underdeveloped countries. On the third day a joint communiqué was issued. But it was distinctly unrevealing. The reaffirmation of the two leaders of the “identity of their views” on Berlin was too vague. It was reported that this “identity” was reached in 35 minutes. This surprisingly swift disposal of one of the most complicated problems can hardly assure that the problem was seriously discussed or that the “general agreement” on the question claimed in the communiqué is indication of any real agreement. However, Mr. Kennedy gave a timely assurance that the United States is conscious of its responsibilities in Western Europe and that it would never let down its European allies.

The second and the most important part of the triangular summit under review was the Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting in Vienna on June 3 and 4. The dominant theme with which their talks started was the “avoidance of war by miscalculations”. The subjects discussed in the two-day meeting were the future of Berlin, the fate of the deadlocked nuclear test ban talks, the then stalemate at the Geneva Conference on Laos, and the prospects of disarmament negotiations. In all, the two statesmen spent some twelve hours in discussing these issues. The talks were conducted in a friendly atmosphere. There was no shadow of the 1960 Summit debacle. But otherwise there was no evidence to show that the two leaders budged even an inch from their basic approaches to various problems. The situation, therefore, remains as it was except perhaps for the fact that there is now a greater mutual awareness of common desire to avoid a nuclear war. But it is an open question whether an improvement in the atmosphere alone could solve problems on which the fundamental positions of the two powers are so diagonally apart. Cordiality of atmosphere is no doubt an important, if not the sole, factor in the

solution of problems. This is exactly what this historic meeting between Khrushchev and Kennedy has achieved. It may not have accomplished any positive results but it has certainly enabled the two leaders to form personal impressions about each other.

Mr. Kennedy's meeting with Mr. Macmillan was comparatively short and insignificant. It lasted only three hours. Mr. Kennedy gave Mr. Macmillan a full account of his talks with Premier Khrushchev. But there was no time or opportunity for any serious discussion on any of the major issues which came up at Vienna. The reason adduced was that Mr. Kennedy himself wanted to take some time to sort out his ideas and his policies in the light of his exchange of views with the Soviet Premier. After their talks a joint communiqué was issued in which Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Macmillan announced their "full agreement on the necessity of maintaining the rights and obligations of the Allied Governments in Berlin". This round of Mr. Kennedy's triangular summit is reported to be the first phase of his intending global consultations with all the top statesmen of the world.

#### CEYLON

On April 17 the Governor-General of Ceylon, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, proclaimed a state of emergency in Ceylon effective from midnight the same day. Under the proclamation, all utility services were declared essential services. The proclamation came in the view of the growing menace of the civil disobedience movement launched in February by the Federal Party in predominantly Tamil-speaking Northern and Eastern Provinces for Tamil language rights. The movement caused concern to the Ceylonese Government when the Federal Party started a parallel postal service in Jaffna on April 14 in defiance of the postal law of the country.

On April 18, the Ceylonese armed forces under the command of Major-General H.W.G. Wijeyekoon took over control of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. At the same time the Federal Party was also banned, public meetings in these provinces were prohibited, and press censorship was imposed. The Governor-General announced that most of the emergency measures would apply to those areas affected by "anti-government" movement.

Although the situation in the Northern and Eastern Provinces was brought under control, yet the threat to the law and order continued in several ways. The Government of Ceylon failed to end the 22-day-old banking strike. It could also not prevent a strike on the plantations. The Ceylonese Government being convinced that all strikes were inspired by the Federal Party and that the latter's main aim was to establish a separate Tamil State decided to meet the challenge by all means. It was with this purpose that the Governor-General ordered mobilisation in Ceylon on April 26, and called out nine units of the army, navy and air force on active service for the "suppression of any civil disobedience in Ceylon."

The disturbances in Ceylon and the suppressive measures taken by the Government have put the country in a very dangerous, if not disastrous, situation. Beside the proclamation of the state of emergency, the authorities also took the extreme step of banning the Federal Party which commenced its Satyagraha nearly five months ago. The Federal Party seems determined to continue against the language policy of the Ceylonese Government which in turn is firm in its attitude towards the Tamil problem. The fear is that though the trouble has for the time being been pacified but the stage may soon be set for a violent explosion which may threaten the very unity of the country. It may be said, perhaps in all fairness,

that the steps taken by the Government to handle the situation were provocative. To ban the Federal Party means, in effect, to take away the political rights of Ceylon's Tamil population. Adding this political insult to what the Tamils already regard as linguistic injury is sure to create serious repercussions. About three months ago a number of clergymen of the National Christian Council toured the northern and eastern provinces and warned the Government that if the Tamil question is not settled soon it might go out of hands. The warning has apparently gone unheeded. The measures taken by Mrs. Bandaranaike Government to crush the linguistic agitation may swell the rank of Tamil extremists. Declaration of emergency had no doubt become unavoidable since essential services were to be conducted anyhow. But other measures certainly indicate lack of judgment. To regard the Tamil linguistic agitation as a mere threat to law and order is not a correct assessment of the situation. But this is the attitude in which Mrs. Bandaranaike's Administration seems to persist in. It is true that the Federal Party has failed to show adequate restraint in its struggle for linguistic rights. But lack of responsibility on the part of one can hardly justify irresponsibility on the part of the other. The interest of the country demands a change of attitude of the Government so as to treat the language issue as a real one and a spirit of conciliation among the Tamils.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

On May 31, South Africa became a Republic. The ceremony was celebrated in the historic Church Square in Pretoria. Mr. Charles R. Swart was installed as the first President of South Africa. In his inaugural address Mr. Swart said that South Africa sought "peace and friendship" with all nations. He also praised the courtesy, friendliness, and graciousness of Queen Elizabeth.

While reference was made to a number of problems there was no mention of South Africa's most agonising problem—the 1,20,00,000 dis-enfranchised non-Whites in the President's address. The birth of South African Republic is indeed an important event of the quarter. From the point of view of Asian countries and particularly from that of non-aligned nations, Mr. Swart's taking-over as President is also no less significant. He was recently South Africa's High Commissioner in London. Earlier, he had been the Minister of Justice of his country since 1948. As such he was the chief architect of apartheid. He was the man responsible for the rigorous implementation of Group Areas Act and Suppression of Communism Act. He instituted the mass treason trial which collapsed only recently. Another important person in the new Republic is Dr. Henrik Verwoerd, the Prime Minister, and previously Minister of Native Affairs whose activities against non-Whites are well known. It is by these persons that the administration of the new republic is carried on. It is a happy feature that another Sharpeville did not occur at the time of this political transformation. But it could be avoided only by a chain of prior arrests. Thus it is clear that Africans and Indians can expect nothing from his Republic in the way of fundamental rights or even reasonable civilized treatment.

#### CUBA

On April 15 some unidentified planes bombed two Cuban cities, Havana and Santiago de Cuba. The same day normal traffic was dislocated and telephone connections were blocked. Consequently a great wave of panic swept over the country. Dr. Fidel Castro, the Prime Minister of Cuba, announced national mobilization to combat this threat of aggression. He also asked the Cuban delegation at the United Nations to lodge an immediate protest against "direct aggression"

by the U.S.". In spite of this anti-Castro forces continued the "invasion" activities with the result that they were able to join control of three beach-heads on the Cuban Island on April 17. Major Raul Castro, Cuban Defence Chief and brother of Dr. Fidel Castro, was also arrested the same day. Thereupon Premier Castro declared a state of emergency throughout the island and appealed to the citizens to maintain peace and order. It was believed that rebel invasion forces had struck from various bases in the gulf of Mexico particularly in Guatemala. On April 17, Dr. Jose Miro Cardona, Chairman of the rebels' Cuban Revolutionary Council, issued a statement in New York that the "battle of liberation had begun. It was also learnt that Dr. Cardona and one other top member of the Council were on their way to Cuba to establish a provisional government there. Meanwhile the Soviet Union asked the United Nations to order an immediate cessation of the "aggressive operations in Cuba". On April 18 Mr. Khrushchev warned President Kennedy that the Soviet Union would give every assistance to repulse the attack on the Cuban Republic. The same day there were massive demonstrations by pro-Castro people in New York against the "Cuban invasion by the United States". Mr. Krushchev's warning was rebutted by President Kennedy who categorically denied the Soviet charge of U.S. intervention in Cuba and told Russia that the United States had no intention of intervention in Cuba and that any Soviet interference in Cuban affairs would be met with force.

Within less than five days, however, the rebels' invasion was crushed. Total victory over the invading forces was announced on April 20. A communiqué issued by Dr. Castro said that his forces had "destroyed in less than 72 hours an army which was organized for months by the Imperialist Government of the United States".

Although the Cuban invasion has been apparently suppressed, yet the fact that it did take place and led to an ominous dialogue between President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev created in Mr. Nehru's words a "very dangerous situation" whose consequences on international relations are bound to be serious and far-fetched. Mr. Kennedy denied the charge of U.S. intervention in Cuba but the rebel army had quite clearly been trained and equipped by the United States. It seems impossible that the rebels would have been able to launch the invasion without the American help. Ever since Dr. Castro came into power some years ago the American Government has been exhibiting an attitude of hostility towards the Castro regime. The author of this attitude was the Republican Administration of Mr. Eisenhower. Mr. Kennedy could have well rid himself of the Cuban legacy and could have alleviated the Cuban fear and distrust of America's intentions in Cuba. Even if the pretence that the United States is in no way responsible for the Cuban invasion is well-founded, the statements of Mr. Kennedy and other top ranking American diplomats issued during the Cuban crisis do not altogether corroborate it.

#### KUWAIT

Kuwait attained full independence on June 19 when the Anglo-Kuwait Agreement of 1899 was abrogated and replaced by a new Anglo-Kuwait Agreement between the British Government and the Sheikdom of Kuwait. It will be recalled that the 1899 Agreement pledged Kuwait not to receive representatives of any Power except Great Britain, nor to cede, sell or lease any portion of the Kuwaiti territory to the government or subjects of any power without Great Britain's prior consent. According to the new Agreement the relations of the two countries would be governed by "a spirit of close friendship". The Agreement also provides for

consultation between two countries on matters of common concern and for Great Britain's assistance to Kuwait if required by the latter. On June 22 Kuwait made an application for the membership of the Arab League.

Kuwait is situated at the head of the Persian Gulf and bounded by Iraq and Saudi Arabia. It has an area of about 6,000 square miles and a population of over 3 lakhs. It is very rich in oil resources which are exploited by Kuwait Oil Company. But with hardly a week of settled independence Kuwait became a danger spot for the world when on June 25 Iraq made claim to Kuwait as a part of Iraqi territory. This evoked alarm in the whole world particularly in Great Britain and U.A.R. The inevitable result was that Kuwait started mobilisation and the British troops were stationed in the Persian Gulf. The situation which is going bad to worse is, therefore, threatening as another source of world tension.

#### INTERNAL SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR TANGANYIKA

On May 1 Tanganyika, which is the United Nations' largest trust territory achieved internal self-government. This was the "last lap" of its march to full independence which will follow on December 28 next. On this occasion a 13-Member Cabinet with Mr. Julius Nyerere as Tanganyika's first Prime Minister was sworn by the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull.

The total population of multi-racial Tanganyika is about 9.2 million of whom nine millions are Africans. There are about 1,20,000 Asians and 22,000 Europeans. The Cabinet has nine Africans, three Europeans and one Asian. Although Tanganyika has yet to attain complete independence, the achievement of internal self government itself means some changes of far-reaching importance in Tanganyika's administrative set-up. Firstly, the Council of Ministers has now become a Cabinet and neither the Governor nor the Deputy Governor is its member now. Secondly, Mr. Nyerere who was so far known as Chief Minister, is now the Prime Minister with the prerogative to preside over Cabinet meetings. Thirdly, many of the powers hitherto exercised by the Governor will now end and the Governor will now ordinarily act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet, although he would still be responsible for defence and foreign affairs. Fourthly, the Legislative Council becomes National Assembly. Fifthly, the Public Service Commission will no longer remain a mere advisory body but will soon assume executive powers. And sixthly, the post of Deputy Governor, who used to be incharge of civil service affairs, will be abolished.

But all this will not affect Tanganyika's historically established relationship with "land-holders". Although the practice of granting freehold land titles started by the former German rulers had been stopped, yet Tanganyika will continue to honour all titles to land which are legal.

Tanganyika owes a great deal to its leader and now Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere, who has steered his country towards independence. He is one of those leaders who believe in cosmopolitanism and try to build-up democracy of the people of all classes. He is exactly the type of man who is required for the progress of Tanganyika, which has 120 indigenous tribes and also Europeans, so that all of them may be welded into one nation. The part played by him in the exit of South Africa from the Commonwealth last March is a well-known indication of his opposition to colonialism and racialism. Under his influence the Tanganyika National Assembly also passed on June 5 a motion calling on Great Britain to bring legislation for making Tanganyika a member of the Commonwealth after the achievement of full independence on December 28.

## SIERRA LEONE

The quarter marked the addition of one more African country to comity of independent nations. This was Sierra Leone—the Lion Mountain—which was solemnly proclaimed an independent sovereign state within the British Commonwealth at midnight of April 27. This ends 150 years of colonial rule in the country. With an area of 28,000 square miles, Sierra Leone has a population of 2,250,000.

The independence ceremonies performed in Freetown, the capital presented a grand spectacle, Sierra Leone became independent as its new green-white-blue flag was raised. Duke of Kent who represented Queen Elizabeth on the occasion congratulated the people of Sierra Leone and declared that unity, freedom, and justice were the triple aspiration of Sierra Leone's people.

Sierra Leone was a British dependency on the West Coast of Africa. Its colonial association with Great Britain began in 1787 with a settlement on its peninsula created by philanthropic persons for the benefit of the Africans discharged from the army and the navy at the conclusion of the American War of Independence and for those runaway slaves who had found asylum in London. This settlement failed and, therefore, it was replaced by another which received a Charter of incorporation. In 1807, the rights granted under the Charter were transferred to the Crown. Thus Sierra Leone became a haven for forced slaves of the beginning of the last century. Naturally, then, a steady stream of rescued slaves flowed into it giving an unprecedented rise to its population. The settlers spoke English and professed Christianity and developed themselves into a separate and distinct community. So much so that they kept themselves aloof from the people of the hinterland. On the other hand, large areas of the hinterland were acquired by the British and organized into a Protectorate in 1896. Thus Sierra Leone had two distinct sections of population with divergent ways of life and level of education. This has presented to the country one of the most serious problems which it has to solve now. Besides, a great deal is also to be done to raise the general prosperity of the people. Although the British had opened the country to railway and road traffic, yet it has hardly achieved a reasonable standard of progress. Fortunately, Sierra Leone is quite rich in mineral resources, although before the discovery of chromite, high-grade iron, and alluvial diamond in 1930 it was considered to be very poor in mineral resources. These minerals provided the country with new sources of revenue through taxes and royalties. In 1950 it was further discovered that the diamondiferous area in Sierra Leone was much vastly greater than had been supposed. But unfortunately, the country could not reap all the advantages of it because of unlicensed digging operation and the activities of a smuggling net-work which eluded the police. Thereupon, an attempt was made to keep the profits of the industry within the country and a diamond-buying organization was set up. While this checked the evasion of taxes to a certain extent, the loss from smuggling could not be stopped completely. The loss is still great. Therefore, the conservation and development of the mineral resources of Sierra Leone will be another chief immediate task of its independent Government.

The real trouble with which Sierra Leone is faced emerges from the fact that it has achieved independence without completing its internal political and constitutional evolution. No clear political pattern has, therefore, yet been established. Sir Milton Morgan, the first Prime Minister of the country and a widely accepted leader, too has his rivals for power. Three of them are within his own Cabinet and one in the Opposition. Sir Morgan's most serious challenge is his own brother, Albert Margai, an ebullient, militant London-trained barrister.

The Minister for Finance, Mr. M. S. Mustafa, who is a Muslim leader, and the Mines Minister, Dr. John Karefa-Smart, who is a militant Christian are other two rivals. Mr. Siaka Stevens whose strength lies in trade union movement is also a serious trouble-maker. Recently he conducted a campaign against the Government on the ground that: firstly, the independence constitution had not been published, secondly, the Government should hold fresh elections before independence, and thirdly, secret agreements were supposed to have been signed with the British Government as a price for independence. But Stevens is pronouncedly pro-British. He is the leader of All Peoples' Congress Party. He was arrested for starting strikes on the eve of independence and will later be brought to trial. The crux of matter is that like many other independent African States, Sierra Leone has entered its independence in a turbulence of political uncertainty and rivalries. It required a rare degree of courage and statesmanship to save the country from disintegration. It is hoped that Prime Minister Morgan will be able to show his capacity to discharge successfully all the onerous tasks to which his country is committed. Mr. Margan is a leader from the Protectorate area and is, therefore, well fitted to bring about a conciliation between the divergent sections of the population. He himself has said, "we have many problems but to meet these we have also a great deal of courage, purpose and determination. Our difficulties are not insuperable; we shall surmount them because the unified will of our people is that they should be surmounted". If this is a true manifestation of the will and determination of the common man in Sierra Leone then, it is certain, it will achieve a respectable place in the family of nations.

#### SPACEMEN

April 12 was the day of wild jubilation for Russians when they were successful in launching the first man into space and bringing him back alive. The man was 27-year-old Major Yuri Alekseyevich Gagarin. He was in space for about 108 minutes in a four-and-a-half ton spaceship named *Vostok* and made just one orbit of the earth. During his flight Major Gagarin reported twice from over Asia Minor and Africa that he was feeling perfectly all right. Mr. Gagarin, the "space-man" or the "astronaut", is the son of a carpenter. He started his flying career while still a student. He has a wife and two daughters. Last year he became a member of the Soviet Communist Party.

Mr. Gagarin got a number of tributes and honours the chief of which was that his name has been put on the Book of Honour of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League.

The first step in connection with the manned space flight was taken on October 4, 1957 when Soviet Union hurled *Sputnik I* into space. A month later Soviet Russia hurled a second *Sputnik*, this time with a dog named Laika who died during the course of flight. It was not until last August that space travellers were brought back safely to earth. But before Gagarin they were only animals.

The successful manned space flight is indeed a marvellous achievement for the Soviet Union. It is an awesome landmark in the history of mankind. Five years ago Gagarin's safe journey into space would have seemed incredible. But what was no better than a science fiction then has now been transformed into a practical reality.

Thus Russia won the gruelling race with America to put the first man into space. But the latter did not remain behind the former for long. On May 5 United

States also launched its first spacemen 115 miles into space and picked him back safely from the Atlantic fifteen minutes later. He was Commander Alan Shepard of the U.S. Navy. Then he joined the space club with the Soviet Union just 23 days after Major Gagarin secured an unprecedented credit of a brilliantly successful space flight. Although both Russia and America have now the pride of their spacemen but from one point of view the success of Russia in this field may be considered as greater than that of America. For which Major Gagarin remained in space for 108 minutes and made more than one full orbit of the earth, Mr. Shepard was in the space only for 15 minutes and he could not take a round of even one-fourth of the earth.

But this is just insignificant. It is not unreasonable to hope that America would soon be able to send a man into space to make a safe and successful flight round the whole earth. The success in manned space flight only confirms the infinite possibilities opened up by science and technology. All this is very good in so far as it is used as an instrument for the creation of a "brave new" world rid of hunger and disease. But those whose memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is still fresh can hardly agree that U.S.-Russian competition in the astronautical field is not essentially a part of the arms race. If a manned ship can be sent into outer space and brought back to earth in a pre-determined area, any spot on the globe can at some future date be within the reach of those who can launch latest type of rockets. Major Gagarin's and Commander Shepard's space journey may not be appreciated by a lay observer but it certainly creates an alarm and despondency. Despite all references to peaceful research recent advances in rocketry have been causing a serious concern to those who love peace. We are now all living only two or three minutes away from total nuclear annihilation. That is why the common attitude towards the Russian and American rejoicings over their success in astronautical field is not distinctly enthusiastic but somewhat ambivalent.

#### PERSIA

On May 5 the Persian Prime Minister, Dr. Emani resigned in response to the criticism of his handling of a teachers' strike launched on May 2 as a protest against the Government's proposals for an increase in their salary which the teachers considered as inadequate. There were massive demonstrations leading to a firing and the consequent killing of one teacher. On May 7 the Shah of Persia called Dr. Amini, leader of the Opposition Independent Group in the Majlis, to form a new Cabinet.

The post of Education Minister was filled by Mr. Mohammad Darokhshesh on May 15. The strike had been called off on May 11 after the Government promised to grant the teachers' salary demands and had ordered the prosecution of the officers responsible for May 2 firing.

Dr. Amini comes from a wealthy family. He has held several important positions in Iran's Government including that of a Minister and of Iran's Ambassador to the United States. He won a Majlis seat as an independent candidate in 1960 and in 1961 he assumed the leadership of a group called Independent Opposition.

On May 9 the Shah, on the advice of Dr. Amini, dissolved both Houses of Parliament which was greatly welcomed throughout the country. The same day all public meetings and demonstrations were banned in Teheran.

On May 11 the new Government announced a programme of reforms which were as follows:

- (a) Land ownership would be limited,
- (b) Agricultural methods would be improved,
- (c) Administration would be decentralized,
- (d) Government expenditure would be cut,
- (e) Imports and exports would be controlled,
- (f) Reduction in high-cost living,
- (g) Officials guilty of corruption would be prosecuted and severely punished, and
- (h) the salaries and conditions of service of teachers would be improved.

Drastic measures were taken for the implementation of the reform programme, particularly for the anti-corruption campaign. Corrupt officials, both civil and military, were punished or compulsorily retired. Dr. Amini declared he would rule by decree for six months because elections at present would be "too dangerous" in the period of "economic and social unrest and dissatisfaction". In a press release on May 22 he also appealed to the public to send their suggestions for the improvement in electoral law. Thus the new Government of Dr. Amini in Iran seems to be all out for a thorough purge in administration. It should be remembered, however, that all this has no effect on Iran's foreign policy. Her membership of CENTO would, therefore, remain intact and she would honour all her international commitments.

#### NATO COUNCIL MEET

The North Atlantic Council had a three-day biennial session in Oslo from May 8 to 10. A communiqué issued at the conclusion of the meeting said that "the menace which drew the Atlantic countries together is now not only military but has also world-wide political, economic, scientific, and psychological aspects". It was felt by the NATO Council conferees that raising the material and social standards of the less-developed areas of the world was the greatest challenge of the time and, therefore, "high priority" should be given to this question.

Apart from discussions on Berlin and disarmament the Council also devoted to a frank discussion of the situation in Laos, the Congo and Angola. The details of the discussions were not disclosed, however. But what trickled out of the closed-door sessions suggests the general conclusion that the NATO Council renewed the Western pledge to stand firm and unwavering on the freedom of Berlin and expressed its desire for disarmament, a nuclear test ban and a settlement of outstanding dispute with the Communists. But the communiqué "deplored the Soviet unwillingness to reciprocate." The Conference reached three concrete conclusions: to set up a machinery for political consultations on the Communist challenge anywhere in the world, to institute a three-men mission to study economic assistance to Greece and Turkey, and America's offer of five nuclear submarines with Polaris missiles for the NATO.

The most novel feature of this time's biennial Conference of the NATO Council is its realisation that the threat to the North Atlantic countries is as much political, economic and psychological as military and that NATO must adjust itself accordingly. This is not to say that this has been realised for the first time. In the past also the late Mr. Dulles considered the possibility of transforming the NATO Organisation into a political and economic instrument. But this time this realisation is much clearer and more distinct. Whatever be the intentions of the

members of the NATO, it appears to be a strange tendency to ignore the fact that NATO is essentially a military organisation. To transform it into a political and economic apparatus would be an attempt for what it was never intended to be. NATO's role is purely military and defensive which requires a reappraisal in view of the rapidly advancing technological developments. Political questions like Berlin and disarmament and economic problems like the development of less-developed areas of the world are in no way NATO's concern. It would be more relevant if NATO restricted its attention towards the questions which were of a direct concern and if it functions as a mere military shield for the security of the West. From this point of view President Kennedy's proposal to strengthen NATO's conventional arms seems to be quite relevant. All this is not intended to support NATO or justify its existence much less to recommend its strengthening. Any one who is a proponent of peace would agree that NATO is as great a menace to peace as any other military alliance, SEATO, CENTO, AUZUS, or Warsaw Pact. The purpose here is just to point out an insipient danger of unnecessary provocation which may result from a military organisation being transformed into a political one.

#### MONROVIA CONFERENCE

The primary purpose of the conference of twenty African States in Monrovia was political. Dr. Nkrumah's concept of a United States of Africa was rejected by the Conference. At the end of the Conference a communiqué was issued in which five principles were enumerated that should govern the relations among African States. The insistence is on their territorial integrity being respected by all. Perhaps such a concern was impelled by the fears of Togo and other neighbouring States of Ghana. For the Monrovia Powers are reluctant to surrender any part of their sovereignty to a United States of Africa. To that extent the Monrovia group is in no way opposed to Casablanca Powers. Both these groups of African States are supporting the cause of African independence throughout the continent. The basic difference in them has been in respect of their approach towards the Congo problem. The Monrovia Conference also decided to set up expert committees to explore the scope of economic cooperation between the English and French-speaking African States. The way in which discussions at Monrovia Conference were conducted indicates the rising importance of the Monrovia Powers which made the Monrovia Conference more African than the Casablanca Conferences held in the recent past. The emergence, of these two camps of African Powers, though both apparently claim to be working for African independence and solidarity, seems to be an evidence of the mounting struggle for African leadership.

#### UNION OF AFRICAN STATES

The Union of African States formed by Ghana, Guinea, and Mali came into existence on July 1 with the publication of the Union's Charter in the capitals of the three countries: The Charter which had been agreed upon in May this year by Messrs Nkrumah, Sekon Toure, and Modibo Keita, respective Presidents of the three countries provides for the defence of the territorial integrity of the members of the Union to the extent that "any aggression against one of the States shall be considered an act of aggression against the others." The Charter contains fourteen articles. It also provides for concerted diplomatic, economic, cultural and research activities of the three countries. According to the Charter the aim of the Union is "to strength and develop ties of friendship and fraternal cooperation between Member-States, to work jointly to achieve complete liquidation of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism in Africa and the building up of African

unity, to harmonise the domestic and foreign policy of its members so that their activities may prove more effective and contribute more worthily to safeguarding the peace of the world." The supreme executive organ of the Union will be the Conference of Heads of States of the Union which will meet once in three months.

The formation of this Union is the first round of Dr. Nkrumah's initial success in his efforts for a United States of Africa of which the Union is "a nucleus." He has invited other African States also to join it. But what prospects does this Union have in the face of conflicting aims and objectives of the two sets of African States—Casablanca group and Monrovia group—is a dubious question.

#### BANDARANAIKE MURDER CASE JUDGMENT

On May 12, the Ceylon Supreme Court delivered the judgment of the Bandaranaike assassination case. It may be recalled that the former Prime Minister of Ceylon and the late husband of the present Ceylonese Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike was assassinated in 1959. Mr. Justice T. S. Fernando sentenced the three accused in the case to death—Reverend Buddharakkita, H. P. Jayawardene and Somarama Thero. All the three accused were found guilty of conspiring to murder the late Mr. Bandaranaike. Somarama Thero was also found guilty of the assassination of Mr. Bandaranaike.

## THE SILENT WAR IN TIBET\*

By A. M. S.

THAT was once called the forbidden land—TIBET—in the last two years has been subject of more books than probably any other country. Out of this multitude, there are only a few which leave the reader with a feeling that there is much more to the problem than can be put over in a book published to cater for the general reader. A notable exception to this rule is "The Silent War in Tibet". As one leaves it, one feels that, however, interesting and well-written the book might be, there is much more in it unsaid than said.

History, travel, anecdotes, and the escape of the Dalai Lama to India are all here. There are some photographs and a magnificent one of the Dalai Lama's Palace, but unfortunately the photographs are not all of the same quality. There is a map which tells almost as much to the discerning as the whole of the book put together. We read of the silent war going on in TIBET.

"It is a strange war. Victory or defeat have little meaning in it. Territory is occupied and retaken, but the consequences have little strategic value. Time also seems to have small importance, and presumably the fighting will continue indefinitely. Resistance to oppression is the root of the conflict, but some of the specific issues are almost beyond the comprehension of Westerners."

Finally, it is a silent war, silent in the sense that so little was heard of it outside the remote land in which it is fought. It is the one current example of a violent conflict in no way connected with the 'cold war' and the East-West ideological duel. The fighting began in the fall of 1950.

The war is unique, but not the first in Tibet's history. For the last thousand years Tibet has been menaced by the Chinese whenever they felt strong enough to push their authority beyond their borders. When China was disunited and weak, the Tibetans reasserted their independence. Since the disintegration of the Manchu Dynasty, China's internal strife, British paramountcy throughout the East, and two world wars enabled Tibetans to live free from outside interference.

Liberty to Tibetans is less of a political and more of a cultural concept. Most of all, the Tibetans want to be left alone to practise their own religion. They want the freedom to reject the gadgets—and the frenzy—of modern civilization. They wish to preserve the traditional forms and values of Lamaist Buddhism. Tibetans are self-sufficient in their sparsely settled kingdom, and they can live as they have lived for centuries amid the harsh natural beauties of their high plateau. Until recently their country was considered the back-end of nowhere. Only scholars, explorers, and a few traders knew about it. Now, however, Tibet has acquired the malignant disease of strategic importance."

Lowell Thomas writes in a gentle way, making telling points not by trowelling unpleasant fact upon fact but by exposing the mood of the conquering Chinese with almost Lamaistic detachment. The picture is painted in pastel shades. He takes us along with the Chinese in their methods of indoctrination—by propaganda from thousands of loudspeakers in the streets of Lhasa over which the Communist doctrine is preached by radio Lhasa, especially during the New Year festival when the streets are packed with all those who can get there; and yet under the new regime the crowds seem far less than previously, and their mood is distinctly dif-

\* The Silent War in Tibet by Lowell Thomas (Secker & Warburg, London, 1961)  
Price sh. 25/-, 284 pages.

ferent from those who used to come merely to get a glimpse of the incarnate of "The Precious Jewel in the Lotus". We read of seed loaned to the peasants which does not bring up a bumper harvest as expected, because it has been taken from grain stored over many years by the monasteries, and as such is unsuitable for planting. We read of hospitals and schools and above all of roads. The former two are there to wean away the Tibetans from their previous ways. The most promising school children are sent to China to learn at the very Seat of Knowledge, and to escape from the 'decadent' influence of their parents. And the roads—they carry no longer the pack animals of the recent past but giant transport lorries.

It is when we come to the roads that we come to the crux of the problem. In dealing with this and the Chinese in the latter part of the book we find the other side of the author's nature. The book, like the Tibetans' landscape, after exposing the gentle monastic face, also has the harshness which we associate with the geographical and climatic situation of the country. It is this which is the most thought-provoking part of the book and the maps to which we have referred to already help to clarify the issue.

According to the author Tibet has now acquired the "malignant disease of strategic importance".

"The key to the strategy is, of course, India. The northern reaches of the Himalayan range are almost impenetrable, but the southern slopes are broken by mountain passes leading to India. Thus the Indians' security requires that they have at least dominating influence over the central region of the Himalayas. Tibet occupies the most vital part of the region. When the British were strong in the Orient and China was weak, British influence prevented other powers from securing a foothold in Tibet.

Today British power in the area is gone. India is militarily weak and preoccupied with internal problems. China has become the dominant military power in Asia. The Chinese intend to subjugate all of Asia, a fact that is only too evident from their armed interference in Korea, Indo-China, and Burma, and from the subversive intervention throughout the area. India and the rest of the sub-continent, however, are the richest prizes in Asia.

The first step of the Chinese toward Asia's richest prizes was to advance China's borders to the Indo-Tibetan frontier. From airfields in Tibet, Chinese bombers would be hardly more than one hour from Delhi. Next, Tibet had to be made into a powerful military base from which subversive and ultimately, if necessary, armed action against the sub-continent could be directed. Naturally the military base had to be made secure.

Security of the Tibetan military base required complete subjugation of the local inhabitants. The three million Tibetans could be crushed by force, subverted, and finally, inundated by millions of Chinese settlers. Communist materialism would replace the gentle Buddhist way of life, and the surviving Tibetans would become an impoverished, helpless minority in their own land. In short, the Chinese Communists, in order to operate against India and the rest of the sub-continent, meant to destroy Tibet as a nation, a culture, and a people."

Geographically Tibet is a plateau, often called the roof of the world, because the altitude of even the lower valleys is in most cases about 11,000 feet. There are extremely high mountains to the North, North-East, South and West, but, however, formidable these might be, their valleys are in most cases fertile and capable of supporting much more population than they do at present. Although the land on the whole appears barren and dry, with proper cultivation it can be

made to support a far larger population than at present. North-East Tibet has been considered in the past as a swampy desert and yet with modern means of drainage it can be made a habitable area. On the whole the policy in the past which had been to keep Tibet isolated had exaggerated the difficulty of opening up communications into and through this land. By modern means and proper utilization of resources, this is no longer so.

South of Tibet lie India and the Himalayan Kingdoms Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. The author believes that for any expansion of the Chinese Empire, after the absorption of Tibet in the Chinese hegemony, inroads would have to be made into these territories.

It follows therefore that to open up the country, from the Chinese point of view, there must be modern means of communications. Roads have already been made which now run from the borders of China upto Lhasa and beyond upto the borders of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, a railway line is possible and is under construction upto Lhasa. Because of the tight packed hard surface of the plateau it is easy to construct aerodromes in many parts of Tibet with a minimum of constructional activity. With the opening of communication and the draining of swamps it is possible to populate a large portion of Tibet. And once Tibet has been opened up and populated by the Han (Chinese) people, the author feels that it can be used as a springboard from which further expansion to its South, towards India and the Himalayan Kingdoms, can be mounted. The traditional routes from China into Tibet are:

- (a) From the North  
Lanchow-Sining-Golmo to Lhasa and southwards towards Nepal and Sikkim via Nagchuka and Retring,
- (b) From the East  
Szechwan-Chengtu-Tatseienlli-Kantse-Chamdo through the Khampa area to Lhasa, and southwards towards Nepal and Sikkim.
- (c) From the North-West  
Sinkiang-Kashgar-Yehcheng-Plato-Rudog-Gartok past Mansarovar Lake to Taklakot to the border of Nepal.

Although the Chinese claim that the new roads are for development of trade.

Nevertheless the Communist road-building programme in Tibet could not be interpreted other than as an unfriendly gesture (by India). When the roads connecting China and Tibet were completed, outsiders expected the pace of construction to slacken. Instead it was increased. Moreover, the new Chamdo-Lhasa road, instead of following the traditional and more direct caravan route, went south through even more difficult country to come within thirty miles of India's Assam border. After reaching Lhasa the road was pushed south again along the main trade route via Phari and Yatung right to the Indian border. In Shigatse, along the Western trade route, a steel bridge was built across the Brahmaputra. The new road swung in a great arc along the Indian frontier in the south-west and west before going north-west into Sinkiang.

The volume of Tibet's trade and commerce, even when the most optimistic dreams of 'development' had been fulfilled, could not justify a fraction of this effort. As for possible increased trade with the border countries, the volume could not be raised until comparable roads were constructed across the borders; even then the volume could not be increased appreciably because the border countries them-

selves would be busy for decades with the problems of producing enough for their own people.

Thus the new roads in Tibet could not be for the purpose of trade, although the Chinese said that trade was their main reason for building them. The roads had to be for military purpose. . . .

Even before the main highways were completed, for example, spur roads were built to strategic points on the border. . . . Taklakot, a Tibetan village, near the border where Nepal meets India's State of Uttar Pradesh, became a fortified city with more permanent barracks, heavy gun emplacements and even a military airfield. From Gartok and Rudog, equally fortified Chinese army centres along the western frontier, mounted patrols searched India's border hills and the Ladakh region of Kashmir".

The author brings out an interesting fact that of the entire area of China, only 20 per cent is cultivable whereas 80 per cent consists of deserts, mountains and swamps. In Tibet, although the local population is sparse, there are vast areas which can be populated. The Chinese had already encroached upon the Tinghai-Amdo area prior to 1950 and people of Han origin were already being brought to fill up the population vacuum. As communications developed, other areas of Tibet could well be populated of Han origin. Not only would these people fill up the population vacuum, but would also help to break the barrier between the peoples of 'Tibetan region of China' and the 'Great Motherland'. In due course, with adequate training of young Tibetans, the people of this region could be fully integrated into the Great Han Family.

As far back as spring of 1950, some six months before the invasion of Tibet, it was pointed out in the Indian Parliament that Nepal although independent, was geographically a part of India. However, in the light of 'Tibet's new status in the People's Republic of China' Nepal has had to have some very urgent second thoughts and negotiations with China were begun in the summer of 1956, resulting in agreement providing for the withdrawal of Nepalese bodyguards from Tibet and for the opening of a Chinese Consulate in Kathmandu. The existing Nepalese office in Lhasa became a consulate accredited to China. Later, the borders of China and Nepal were to be examined for arriving at a demarcated frontier.

"All this was a part of China's long range plans. The troops of the "Gurkha factory" could fit well into the plans of Asia's new imperialist power. Already evidence was accumulating that the Chinese Communists were working to indoctrinate the trained and seasoned Gurkha pensioners (many of whom retired very young) through agents from the border training schools."

He goes on to say that the Sikkimes and Bhutanies are in many ways more akin to the Tibetans than the Nepalese.

"The most popular route from Tibet into India lay over the Natula Pass on the border of Sikkim and Tibet. Buddhism was practised in these two countries to a far greater extent than in Nepal."

"Ladakh is a part of Kashmir and has two hundred miles of common frontier with western Tibet. A thousand years ago Ladakh was a part of Tibet. Subsequently, however, Ladakh became a separate kingdom and even controlled a part of Tibetan territory. In the seventeenth century Tibet regained this lost territory, and the relations between the two countries have been amicable ever since."

The author points out that the Chinese have made full use of the anti-colonial atmosphere in recently independent countries of Asia.

"After World War II when countries of Asia began to free themselves from the subjugation of the Imperialist powers of the West, there could be identified a strain of thinking which was unified by a deep suspicion of the West and by sentimentality on the subject to 'Asianism'. Many Indian leaders believed that the greatest evil in the world was European colonialism. Most of them had spent their lives fighting it and felt that eternal vigilance was necessary in order to prevent its resurrection. They could not imagine that Asians who had suffered the evil could ever be guilty of it. Once the Europeans were driven out, these leaders pictured a bright future in which all the Asian nations would co-operate peacefully to solve their common problem of uplift for their impoverished masses. Non-alignment was an attractive idea partly because of the understandable wish to avoid the distant ideological conflicts of the West and partly because of the opportunity it offered to develop a new ideology suitable to Asian problems."

Besides the ideological concept, there was also a basic economic factor which the Chinese have exploited to the full. The author relates as follows.

"Some 1,500,000 people of the border regions were employed in trade between India and Tibet. For centuries these people had lived relatively undisturbed. On both sides of the border they had a kinship in appearance, language and religion. Some important Hindu shrines were in Tibetan territory, and Lamaist monasteries existed in India. No insolent guards demanded to be shown papers. In fact, no one in the border area paid much attention to the border. The people carried on a brisk trade that has been the mainstay of the local economy for centuries. Tibetans brought down wool, yak tails, salt, musk, borax and furs. They carried back into Tibet cotton and wool cloth, metal tools and cooking utensils, sugar and other luxury foods, tobacco, dyes, and medicines. In many of the border areas the people were completely interdependent. Wool from the western Tibet markets was woven into cloth in the Kulu and Kangra valleys of the Punjab. Western Tibetan herders exchanged their wool and surplus livestock for grain grown in the lower Indian valleys."

"When the Chinese came into the border area, they said that their troops and new roads were for the purpose of protecting the caravans from bandits and for encouraging more trade. True, bandits had always been a nuisance in the mountains. The mere hundred Indian troops in the Tibetan trading centres had not been able to prevent occasional raids. Now the Chinese moved in five thousand troops to the same centres."

"As for encouraging commerce, the trade at first was stimulated after the arrival of the Chinese. Tibetans now presumably wanted spades, pick-axes, boots, cement, construction steel, motors, batteries, explosives, drugs—and even fountain pens and wrist watches. They went so far as to want spare parts and tyres for motor cars, even when there were no wheeled vehicles in Tibet at all. It seemed fairly obvious that the Chinese were using Tibetan commodities, not for the benefit of Tibetans, but to obtain goods needed in China. The worst examples of 18th century European exploitation had been hardly so blatant."

"For example, late in 1954, it was announced in the Indian Parliament that the Government was selling 4,500 tons of rice to the Tibetans. The rice was needed in India, and the government knew that the shipment was intended for the Chinese armies along the border. Nevertheless, the Indians dared not refuse trade in any commodity because they feared that such refusal might make the Chinese retaliate by disrupting the traditional border trade and thereby take away the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of Indian border people."

The author, therefore, has no hesitation in concluding that the Chinese by playing upon this ideological strain of thought in Asia began to sow the seed of doubt about their expansionist aims to lull the people of Asia into believing that China could never be an expansionist country. At the same time, by claiming a "hands off policy" from all concerned in respect of Tibet, based on the accepted claims of "suzerainty", China wanted to do as she likes in Tibet, and continue to subscribe to the Panch Shila principles. Thus, having lulled the people of Asia into believing in Chinese good faith, China could start "cartographical aggression" by showing frontier areas as Chinese territory, and get away with it for as long as possible. In the meanwhile, action could be taken to spread propaganda and soften-up the will of the people of these so-called "disputed areas" into acceptance of the Chinese claims.

The author maintains that one of the characteristics of Tibet in the past had been its timelessness. There was no sense of urgency and the aim of their entire existence was to continue in this serene manner. The Chinese have taken on some part of this philosophy in their dealing with Tibet.

"On October 7, 1950, forty thousand troops of the 18th and 62nd Chinese Armies crossed the eastern border and engaged the brave little Tibetan Army. It seemed now that the Chinese Communists had never intended to do anything else. They had made their elaborate plans, organised the military build-up, and had moved into an attack the moment they were ready. All assurances to the Indians and the pretence at negotiations were merely talk."

It was three weeks before official information of this attack reached New Delhi. On December 7, 1950, Lhasa learnt from Peking Radio that "peace talks were going on". The initial occupation by the Chinese Army was limited, but gradually with a clever juxtaposition of pressure and cajolement, the occupation of Tibet has more or less been completed by 1960. Ten years have thus been considered only a very short time for achieving the aim.

During this time, consolidation of the gains made has continued. The build-up for further expansion, the author points out, was carefully controlled not only from the logical point of view but from the softening up by propaganda and the building up of cadres who would be faithful to the Communists' purposes—this in spite of the silent war which continued to rage in Tibet. The Chinese, therefore, believed that time was on their side. As their grip on Tibet tightened, time was getting riper for the acceptance of the Chinese view in the Himalayan border States and the border area of Nepal. They maintained that in the ultimate analysis, Communist doctrine must prevail. Therefore there was no great urgency to press on regardless of cost, and spoil their case.

According to the author, in view of the circumstances as discussed in the preceding paragraphs, the only doubts that the Chinese could have had in the execution of their expansionist policy would be the pace that they should adopt. Although by waiting to consolidate their gains, they were likely to throw away the element of surprise, as also the propaganda value of fresh expansion for their own home consumption, on the whole the Chinese had everything to gain by "making haste slowly". The Tibetan people were not to be pushed beyond a certain endurable limit, and when it appeared that the limit was being reached, pressure on them should be slackened.

While this policy was being executed, the Chinese calculated that India would lose some of the high respect she had won from the Western democracies, as also from the other uncommitted nations. The author takes pains to show that

India at the time (1950) could hardly adopt any other policy, concerned as she was for bringing about a peace settlement in the Korean war. However, quite oblivious to India's high-minded actions, the Chinese believed that whatever extra time they gained for consolidating their hold in Tibet, was that much extra time gained for Communist indoctrination to work its insidious way amongst the border people and other trouble spots in India.

According to the author, the Chinese believed that India did not take very seriously the threat of exploitation through the Himalayan passes from Tibet to India and the border kingdoms. India's ideology and her internal involvements, especially with its Western neighbour, would keep her busy enough for the Chinese expansion to take place at will. Further, in the Chinese view, the economic resources of India by themselves would not suffice to meet any aggression, especially in areas so far away from its main centres. In spite of minor pin pricks which could be softened up by a propaganda barrage addressed towards redrawing of a boundary made by "the Imperialist British" in the years gone by—especially in view of the ethnic and religious affinities of the border people, the Chinese, according to the book, believe that India would not be provoked into joining alliances with Western powers which alone would give her the wherewithals for military preparations to stand up to Chinese expansion.

In view of this, the Chinese, according to the author were confident in their belief that to exploit slowly, bringing about communisation of Tibet by a combination of military pressure ideological indoctrination and economic development was their best course. To achieve their aim, it might be necessary to drive out of Tibet the fount of Tibetan resistance, the Dalai Lama, with the departure of whom the religion and the way of life as understood by Tibetans through the centuries, would crumble under the pressure of the more virile and robust Chinese Communist ideology. They took the risk that by doing so, they might meet greater opposition from the Indian side, if and when further expansion was planned. However, as far as could be foreseen, this could never be effective to meet Chinese pressure, because in the Chinese view, India would continue in its non-aligned fashion without sufficient economic backing to match its military and ideological might.

We leave this book with an uneasy feeling that what we regarded as "current events" is already becoming past history, and we may be excused if we cast a furtive anxious glance towards the future.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**The Path to Leadership** by Field-Marshal Montgomery. (London, Collins, 1961). Price 21s. 255 pages.

There is an old music hall ditty to the effect that "old soldiers never die they just fade away". The opening chapters of this book, which will be read by many, make one thing otherwise for it brings the controversial Field-Marshal to the front of the stage again. Written in the robust style of his Memoirs and with the same outspokenness and forthrightness that has come to be associated with his writings, the personal pronoun, perhaps unconsciously, tends once more to predominate.

Withal there is tremendous food for thought in what the Field-Marshal writes for the world today, more than ever before, needs proper leadership if it is not to blow itself to pieces.

The author differentiates between leadership and what he calls misleadership, giving as an example of the latter Hitler and Mussolini. He develops the theory that leadership is a battle for the minds and hearts of men always lucidly and intelligently and on occasions very forcefully.

Perhaps the finest chapter in the book is the one on the Leadership of Youth. The Field-Marshal makes an excellent case for the creation of an organisation to handle the development of Leadership in Youth. He is averse to making the organisation just another department of the government and express the view that it should be headed by some well-known personality to whom youth would owe allegiance because of his record and his single-mindedness of purpose. Boys, he insists, are inveterate hero-worshippers, always willing to follow a known and trusted leader.

It is not the countries, says the Field-Marshal, that lack the atom bomb or the big battalions that are second rate but those which lack the big ideals. He insists that we must accentuate the positive rather than the negative that the child must early learn that it has duties and obligations before rights and privileges. At an appropriate place he quotes from the epitaph at Thermopylae,

"Go tell the Spartans, thou that passet by,  
That here obedient to their laws we lie."

The book contains thumb-nail sketches of eminent people whom the Field-Marshal considers have some of the qualities of leadership that are worth emulating. He places among the foremost leaders in the world today, two from the West, de Gaulle and Tito and two from the East, Nehru and Mao.

The book is not without its light moments. It is well worth reading and should find a place on the book-self of all who have to do with leading men whether in the defence services, the civil services or in industry. It is to be hoped that the book will be instrumental in setting machinery afoot for the development in each country of organisations to handle leadership in youth. The reasons are there and very clearly set out.

The epilogue is said, sentimental some may say. Perhaps the Field-Marshal feels it is now time for an old soldier to fade out of the picture.

H.L.F.

**'The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell'** edited by Robert E. Egner & Leser E. Denonn. (London, Allen & Unwin) 1961, Price 42sh. 736 pages.

Few philosophers of the modern age have been so versatile in their writings and so eloquent in the expression of their ideas as Lord Russell. Today Russell stands as a rather controversial figure, divided between his philosophical doctrines,

his political leanings and his strong appeal to commonsense. Which of these reveals the true personality of Russell it is difficult to say.

During the early thirties, Russell's contributions to Philosophy, particularly Epistemology, were outstanding. At the time when philosophers of the West were expounding the 'Coherence' Theory of Truth, Russell came out with his challenging 'Correspondence' theory. "What is required", he argues, "is a formal expression of the fact that a proposition is true when it points towards its objective, and false when it points away from it". The meaning of this simple statement is profound and far-reaching.

Russell was no admirer of conventional religion. On the other hand, he was sternly critical of the Catholic faith. In fact, his references to St. Thomas Aquinas were mixed with strong feelings of opposition. Thus in his 'History of Western Philosophy', published in 1946, Russell wrote: "There is little of the true philosophic spirit in Aquinas." He does not like Platonic Socrates, set out to follow wherever the argument may lead. He is not engaged in an enquiry, the result of which it is impossible to know in advance. Before he begins to philosophise, he already knows the truth; it is declared in the Catholic faith . . . the finding of arguments for a conclusion given in advance is not philosophy, but special pleading. I cannot therefore feel that he deserves to be put on a level with best philosophers either of Greece or of modern times."

Be that as it may, Aquinas is in fact accepted as one of the few medieval Theologians who demonstrated, by the exercise of philosophic genius, the intimate relationship which obtains between Aristotelian philosophy and Christian philosophic thought. The critics of Aquinas have accused him of dogmatism. This they have done because they have failed to understand the intellectual effort by means of which Aquinas reconciled the gulf which existed during his time between traditional philosophy and conventional religion. In some ways it is true to say that the first attempt to evolve a metaphysical system in Europe was made by Aristotle. Aquinas showed conclusively that, by and large, the rational elements in human religious belief stem from the systematic thought of Aristotle. Religion must of necessity transcend the limits of philosophical reasoning. There are many truths which human beings know and understand not because they are proved by reasoning but because they are revealed. To reject revealed truths merely because they have not been established by ratiocination would be tantamount to assuming dogmatically that human reasoning is infallible. This, commonsense will admit, is not a fact. To err is human; and the human faculty of reasoning is not exempt from this universal failing.

During his later years, Russell drifted from the heights of philosophy and Mathematics to the areas of Politics and International affairs. Like many others in the West, he developed a strong fascination for the Orient. His references to the great and ancient civilization of China are recorded in considerable detail. Russell's interest in history led him to foresee the tragedy of repeated blunders; and to face with stoic endurance what he considered to be the follies of the present. He denounced Christianity. He likewise denounced Communism. Exactly where he stands in relation to either, is not easy to understand. For instance, in certain articles, published by a Stockholm newspaper in 1954, Russell came out with a scathing criticism of Christianity, and a rather biting comment on the celebrated Cambridge historian, Professor Herbert Butterfield. Those who attended Professor Butterfield's lectures at Cambridge in 1948 and who subsequently read his book will agree that Professor Butterfield's point of view has not been represented fairly and squarely by Russell. All the same, this is a facet of Lord Russell's personality which the enlightened reader would willingly ignore.

There is a lot of sober commonsense in many things which Russell has said regarding matters of the moment. He has, for instance, warned the modern man that mistakes in science and business are both costly and deplorable—but continued mistakes in International affairs today result in the destruction of civilization as we know it. He realised only too well that the sufferings of the modern man are the result of his stupidity and wickedness rather than any decree by nature. What he could not see, however, was the inadequacy of his homocentric outlook as it is reflected in such remarks as these: "What may be happening elsewhere we do not know, but it is improbable that universe contains anything better than ourselves. . . . The more we realise our minuteness and our impotence in the face of cosmic forces, the more astonishing becomes what human beings have achieved." There might be many today who would doubtless agree with the sentiments expressed by Russell: but the several foibles of the human race make it all the more evident that as long as man does not acknowledge his creatureliness, as long as he fails to realise that he is not at the centre of the universe, human thinking will continue to be involved in blunders which are likely to be more devastating than what the world has so far witnessed.

W.T.V.A.

**Solitary Confinement** by Burney, Christopher. (Macmillan, London). Price 12sh. 6d.  
173 pages.

There can be no doubt that war is an action which brings out human cruelty in its most extreme forms. The last war was of course unique in many ways. In a sense, it would be true to say that the psychological factors which come into active play during periods of war were evident in certain countries long before the outbreak of hostilities in September, 1939. Further, nearly every section of the populations involved became the direct victims of war conditions.

One of the remarkable facts regarding World War II was the extent to which the techniques of harassing victims of military aggression were carried to the point of perfection. In the long history of human conflict, the tradition has always been to direct weapons of destruction against enemy forces. The killing of hostile forces outright had, therefore, been the primary concern of belligerent countries. During World War II, however, a new approach to the enemy emerged. The emphasis came to be laid not on the destruction of the enemy but rather on the techniques of breaking the opponents' will to resistance. In other words the game was not to destroy but to harass, not to kill but to "cure." The art of "curing" an opponent assumed a variety of subtle forms, ranging from different kinds of third degree methods to the grosser varieties of cruelty and torture which prisoners and captives had to suffer at the hands of their captors. The aim was of course to break any resistance encountered and to exploit the unhappy victims of military defeat.

The author of this book was arrested by the German Gestapo, during the war years, as an English agent in France. He remained in German custody for nearly two years during which he was subjected to all kinds of humiliations and tortures. He has recorded his prison experience in the clear and telling language. Nowhere in the book does one get the impression of his having exaggerated the gravity of his plight, or of introducing morbid details merely in order to produce something sensational.

From all that Mr. Burney has to say regarding his sufferings and torments, one thing emerges with unmistakable clearness—the triumph of man's unconquerable mind. One is left with the impression that a mind imbued with courage and

determination, one whose mind is fired with a pious aspirations and notable sentiments, can never be down-trodden, whatever indignities, insults or humiliations he may be subjected to. Sleeplessness, starvation, physical discomfort, major privations, and even the prospect of death may all be borne with calmness and fortitude by one whose ideals elevate his mind high above the taunts, jibes and scoffing of a hostile social environment.

Modern society thrives by the kindling of hostilities, the ventilation of grudges and the unfettered expression of social prejudices. One who expects anything different from the World today is merely engaging his mind in wishful thinking. In fact, the victims of modern warfare ought to expect something infinitely worse.

The treatment meted out to prisoners of war in countries like Russia and China has been told by sufferers in no unmixed terms. The approach is not physical but psychological. Psychological warfare today lays the emphasis not so much on propaganda broadcasts, or dropping of leaflets, but rather on reorienting individuals belonging to a different political system. Hence the techniques of the vicious process described as "Brain Washing" is very much the fashion in modern war. The solemn question is whether it is possible to offset the effectiveness of brain washing. It is claimed that brain washing can be resisted. Some individuals are less liable to be affected by this pernicious influence than others. The mechanisms which make resistance possible are psychological. It is, therefore, of considerable practical concern in the world today that the psychologist should set himself to discover the technical know-how which will afford to the common man the power to maintain his mental balance and to give him endurance which will enable him to survive a process of brain washing, if and when he is subjected to it. This is, without doubt, a matter of far-reaching psychological significance.

W.T.V.A.

**On the Himalayan Front** by Dr. Satyanarayan. (Prajna Prakashani, Calcutta). Price Rs. 6.50. 184 pages.

The very fact that this is a book on the practical experiences of an Indian in Tibet during the time of the Dalai Lama's flight to India is well worth noting, especially at a time when we seem to have left action reportage to foreigners, although Tibet is on our doorstep. Added to this is the interesting personality of the author—an active politician, and a Member of Parliament until recently; a linguist, and one who has led an adventurous life between the Arctic and Andamans". All these invite one to dip into this slim volume and peruse the fascinating tale.

But what of the tale. The author tells us that he scribbled the manuscript as he was plodding through the Himalayan passes and flying in an aeroplane—he is a pilot also—over its snowy peaks. But although one might complain of some disjointedness, inherent in this type of reportage, the book reads almost like a novel written in the first person. There is Pema, the Tibetan beauty who happens to turn up in such unexpected places like Delhi, Mussorrie and in the midst of some skirmishes of Khampas with Chinese troops in Tibet. In contrast there is the Rani Saheba—"a great celebrity and socialite of New Delhi due to the pull of her husband in Government circles. . . . In the estimation of certain foreign embassies she was capable of influencing high policy matters even." Amongst other interesting characters is the revolting Seth Motu Mal, big and rotund as befitting his name "hardly literate and practically uncultured—though greedy in accumulating wealth, and stingy in spending it unless sure of a profitable return."

These characters are there to show sinister, machination of those whom we have trusted over-long, and how they act for various motives against those fighting for the freedom of their hearths and homes in Tibet. These freedom fighters we also meet at close quarters—monks and muleteers; border check post people, men and women who have had the most gruesome inequities committed against them—of having had their babies smashed to pieces in their presence.—And last but not the least Chinese troops and even some Russians in the Chinese camps. Well may we ask ourselves, as some of the characters in the book ask “Are these Chinese swines really all that strong?” Or is it that we have raised these bogies ourselves and now find ourselves slaves of our own policies. On the subject of minor aggression leading to losses on our border passes let the author speak for himself:

“It has a small history. Such things are possible because the responsible authorities at Delhi do not realise the importance of the Himalayas for the life, culture and the very existence of their country. Somehow or other, through the stupidity of the Chinese, news leaked out at Delhi some time ago that the Chinese armed forces have occupied a large tract of Indian territory in Ladakh, and their next move was to capture the passes—the gateways to India. Indian bureaucrats in Delhi gave no importance to these facts thinking that they did not affect them or their families in any way. They had never seen the Himalayas, and so by passes they understood papersheets posted somewhere authorising anyone to cross the place without let or hindrance. The general public of India, being religious minded and having seen or imagined the places of pilgrimage in the Himalayas, understood the danger much better. Many of them were facing harassment from the Chinese side in their own territory. They raised their voice, and the authorities in Delhi told them ‘after all those are barren territories, a peak here and there, we are not going to quarrel with our great friend and neighbour for those stone-chips’.”\*\*

All in all, a book strongly recommended to our members for exciting reading.

A.M.S.

**Bamboo Doctor** by Stanly Pavillard. (London, Macmillan, 1960). Price 18sh. 206 pages.

The lot of a soldier in the front line of battle is hard enough; that of one who is taken prisoner of war is infinitely worse. Over and over again, during the complicated history of World War II the truth of this came into relief, particularly in certain theatres of military operations. Possibly the worst suffering ever undergone by prisoners of war during the last war was experienced by those who were unfortunate enough to fall into the hand of the Japanese. British prisoners of war held by the Japanese in the region of Malaya, Thailand and Burma had the most harrowing experiences. The Japanese, in their exuberance over their rapid successes in South-East Asia, paid little or no heed to international conventions. On the other hand, they ventilated their fury over hapless victims of an unforeseen and unprecedented military disaster, such as what overtook the British forces at Singapore.

Before the outbreak of hostilities, Pavillard was a medical officer of the Malayan Volunteer Forces. He describes in vivid detail the dramatic events leading to the capitulation of Singapore. One sees how confident the British at that time were of routing the Japanese forces; and how dramatically the collapse occurred of a strong and powerful British defence force. The Japanese achieved a considerable element of surprise. They appeared out of the most remote and un-

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\*\*Ibid pp. 173-174.

expected corners of the Malayan peninsula, so much so that a large number of Britishers became captives of the Japanese even before they could realize what was happening.

The British prisoners of war in Malaya were mopped up and marched off to Wampo, where they were formed into three battalions. Their food consisted of plain boiled rice, hardly adequate for a man. "Japanese issued no tea or sugar and worse still no salt and we used to feel almost unendurable cravings for something sweet or salty. . . . In our half-starved condition we were obsessed by food." Such was their plight, as recorded by Pavillard. Anything edible in the jungle, from wild plants to snakes and lizards was consumed with relish. Boiled or grilled snake, especially python was quite a welcome food. Some of them used to catch and eat monkeys.

With hardly any clothes to wear, with little or no protection from the sun and the rain, and the most agonising nocturnal experiences caused by an abundance of bugs and lice, these men became complete physical and nervous wrecks. Now and then, the Japanese would allow them to play about in the river where they caught some fish. A favourite Japanese pastime was to drop hand grenades into the river and to set the prisoners of war to collect the stunned fish, out of which of course the Japanese bosses would grab the lion's share. The prisoners of war were engaged on forced labour for the construction of a railway across the jungle from Wampo to the Burmese border. All kinds of diseases were numerous but medical facilities were meagre and scanty. The only drug available was MB 693, which became the medicament for almost every conceivable type of illness. Pavillard describes how on one occasion he had to perform an appendicitis operation by using a cut throat razor. Now and again the Japanese came to the British doctors for medical aid, particularly when they contracted venereal diseases, which they had to conceal from their superiors.

There are interesting episodes in the book describing how unwary Japanese were sometimes deceived by their prisoners, and how occasionally some delicacies such as bottles of beer or quantities of meat became available to the prisoners of war. Nevertheless, the tale of woe continues right up to the end of war, when the defeat of the Japanese brought freedom and relief to those who had to endure untold miseries over a period of nearly four years. Altogether, the book makes fascinating reading and provides great consolation to those who bemoan their lot in life under peacetime conditions.

W.T.V.A.

**Armada Guns** by Michael Lewis. (London, George Allen and Unwin). Price 42sh. 243 pages.

Professor Michael Lewis is a well-known naval historian and in his latest work, **ARMADA GUNS**, he examines the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 from the gunnery aspect.

His documentation of evidence and logical arrangement of facts are splendid: the plethora of footnotes cannot perhaps be avoided. His comparison of the artillery of the opposing forces reveals that the English guns had longer range but less "weight of shot" than those of their Spanish adversaries. The Spanish had the greater number of guns. The actions prior to the battle of Gravelines resulted in very little damage to either side. The English fought from outside the range of the Spanish guns, but at this distance, their light shot could not inflict appreciable damage upon the enemy. The Spanish could not close the range because the English, whose ships had superior sailing capabilities, were always able to call the tune as regards the positioning and manoeuvring of forces. As a result of the skirmishes prior to Gravelines, both sides had run out of shot; but the English

could renew supplies from their nearby bases, whereas the Spanish had no ready source of replacement. Consequently, at Gravelines, the English were able to close to point blank range, which was the only range at which their shot would tell, whilst many of the Spanish guns were silent for lack of ammunition.

How did the two navies react to the lessons of this battle? The Spanish copied the English gun but not the English type of ship. The English did nothing till six years later, when Sir Richard Hawkins in DAINTY was defeated by a Spanish squadron. In this action Sir Richard had heavy-shotted, short-range guns and the Spanish used long range, light-shotted pieces. Sir Richard failed to exploit the superior sailing qualities of his ship to keep the "weather gage" and close to a range at which his heavy shot could "torment, shake and overthrow the enemy". Drawing experience from his bitter lesson, he advocated the use of heavy-shot at "pot-gun" range: "how much the nearer, so much the better". His views bear interesting comparison with those of Nelson ("No sea captain can be far wrong if he places his ship alongside the enemy") and of Admiral A. B. C. Cunningham who, about the time of the Battle of Cape Matapan in 1941, expressed the view that: "The right range for any ship of the Mediterranean Fleet, from a battleship to a submarine, to engage an enemy ship with gunfire is point-blank, at which range even a Gunnery Officer cannot miss".

The bulk of the book, with its statistics and technical details, is not everyone's meat. Those with an academic interest will find it an objective, warts-and-all type of history, written with sureness of perspective.

V.E.B.

**The World's Warships** by Raymond V. B. Blackman. (Macdonald & Co., Ltd., London). Price 15sh. 256 pages.

This is the revised edition of a work which was first published in 1955. It is in pocket-book size and contains basic information on the major war vessels of the principal maritime powers. It is intended for those who do not have at hand the standard reference work, JANE'S FIGHTING SHIPS. The warships of the world are grouped by category and each section is prefaced with a brief history of the class of warship it covers. Patrol vessels, minesweepers, auxiliaries and ancillary craft are omitted.

This compact volume gives an up-to-date picture of modern naval development, but it cannot be used for a comparative study of the world's navies: for example, though the SKORY class destroyers and W class submarines are covered in the appropriate Russian sections, there is no reference to the fact that the U.A.R. and Indonesian navies have them.

The photographs are uniformly excellent, but two errors detract from otherwise good editing: the name of the Pakistani destroyer KHAIBAR is incorrectly printed on page 135 and there is a glaring mistake on page 11 where HERMES is shown as ALBION. The book would be particularly valuable for small nautical libraries such as are maintained by sea scout and NCC naval units.

V.E.B.

**In Peril On the Sea** by David Masters. (The Crescent Press, London). Price 21sh. 255 pages.

About 5,000 allied and neutral merchant ships were sunk by enemy action in World War II, and Mr. Masters recounts the gallant deeds which attended some of these losses. His heroes and heroines are chosen from the band of 523 men and women who were awarded the Lloyd's War Medal for Bravery at Sea.

Stories of attempts to save a damaged ship, or of the plight of survivors from a sunken vessel, normally follow a general pattern, and a collection of them could easily become monotonous reading; but Mr. Masters avoids this pitfall. He introduces variety by a skilful choice and arrangement of incidents and maintains interest with succinct, animated descriptions. By these tokens, and because nautical language is sparingly used, it would appear that he writes primarily for the lay reader, who should recognise the full impact of the part played by the Merchant Navy in war and the fine qualities required of those who man its ships. For the British, the book is another chronicle of their maritime greatness—a greatness which springs from their native love of the sea and pride in their seafaring traditions.

The photographs are not comprehensive and probably cannot be. A printer's devil has been at work on page 220, but not disastrously.

V.E.B.

**The Fiercest Battle** by Ronald Seth. (Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., London). Price 21sh. 208 pages.

This is the story of convoy ONS 5, which fought its way across the Atlantic for seven days to win a significant victory in the Battle of the Atlantic. The convoy, consisting of over forty ships, covered an area of about 10 square miles. A handful of escorts had to shepherd this ponderous variety of merchant ships in fierce weather and in the teeth of wolf-pack attacks by a total of 47 U-Boats. A dozen U-Boats were destroyed or seriously damaged for the loss of a similar number of merchantmen. No escorts were lost. Admiral Doenitz tells us in his memoirs, that the results of this battle led him to the decision that wolf-pack operations in the North Atlantic were no longer possible. "We had lost the Battle of the Atlantic", he admits.

The author wisely devotes the first 75 pages to giving the reader a background for the battle. The experience of this convoy shows what training, teamwork and determination can achieve in anti-submarine warfare. Those who despair because the modern submarine is a great menace should take heart from the experiences of those who sailed the ill-equipped corvettes, destroyers and frigates of Escort Group B-7 during those stirring seven days in May 1943.

V.E.B.

**Fighting Admiral**, Captain Donald MacIntyre, D.S.O. and 2 bars, D.S.C., R.N., (Retd.) (Evans Brothers Ltd., London). Price 25sh. 270 pages.

This is a biography of Admiral of the fleet Sir James Somerville, who achieved fame during World War II as the Commander of the renowned "Force H", and later as the Commander-in-Chief, Eastern Fleet.

During his early years in the Service, Somerville was regarded as shy and retiring, though professionally capable and zealous. A transformation seems to have taken place after his appointment, at the age of thirty-eight, as Executive Officer of the battleship AJAX. He became thoroughly extrovert, showed consummate skill in the art of leadership, and began to tower over his contemporaries in every way. Yet, he was never a fiercely ambitious man; his wife appears to have been ambitious for him, and she perhaps provided the impulse that sent him forward.

In July, 1939, he was placed on the Retired List on medical grounds. Though Harley Street specialists pronounced him fit, the Medical Board stuck to regulations and had him invalided, much to his annoyance. He returned to active ser-

vice in 1940 and spent five strenuous and exacting years, mostly at sea, keeping excellent health.

The book covers many important maritime situations in the Mediterranean war. Among them are the personally distasteful directives which Somerville had to implement to ensure that the major part of the French Fleet did not fall into Axis hands, the operations of "Force H" in support of the Mediterranean Convoys and its occasional offensive sorties.

Somerville was often in stout disagreement with the plans and proposals of the Admiralty. Their Lordships, and the Prime Minister, seemed to hold the view that Somerville was too cautious. His forces were inferior to those of the enemy, but they considered that a more aggressive form of defence was possible. Somerville regarded the actions that they advocated as ill-conceived "stunts". These feelings are summed-up in a significant example. A personal message from the Prime Minister to Somerville, after the successful bombardment of Genoa read: "I congratulate you on the success of the enterprise against Genoa, which I was pleased to see you proposed yourself". Somerville felt that there was a sting in the tail of that message.

In 1942, he was appointed as the Commander-in-Chief, Eastern Fleet, and he soon set about knocking his demoralised forces into shape. In 1943, however, Mountbatten's appointment as Supreme Commander of S.E.A.C. led to an embarrassing command-relationship between him and Somerville. This has been the subject of much post-war discussion, and it is clear from this book that, for all Mountbatten's charm and Somerville's good humour, their differences were never properly resolved.

Somerville's last appointment was as head of the British Naval Delegation in Washington. He was sixty-two at the time and still in fine fettle. In fact, the Admiralty restored him to the Active List to make him eligible for selection to the rank of Admiral of the Fleet. In Washington, his personal qualities soon won him friends and he established cordial relations with Admiral Ernest King, the Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Navy, who gave many the impression of being an "Anglophobe".

Captain Maclintyre, who is a naval hero himself, has combined stimulating history with a sensitively drawn portrait of its central character. He never loses his sight of his biographical purpose and makes everything revolve around Somerville the man, who seems to have had many of the virtues which successful naval officers must possess, plus a fair share of the faults of lesser ones. He was a relentless slave-driver, intolerant of the stogy and slow-witted—a fact which seems to have contributed to the suicide of one of his Chiefs of Staff. He was sagacious and professionally competent, but he was a hard critic of his superiors—and it cannot be said that his criticisms were always sound or justified. He won the hearts of his sailors, but he often resorted to the theatrical and inelegant to achieve this end. He had a predilection for broad humour and detested "stuffed-shirts"; his Letters of Proceedings, covering important maritime operations, were seasoned with references to such banalities as the birth of a baby to Phyllis, his favourite Gibraltar ape. His signals reflected this trait as well, for example, his somewhat irreverent message to their Lordships, which read: "Bombardment completed. From all accounts, Genoa is in a bloody fine mess."

Somerville loved his home and family and fell a prey to homesickness whenever he was separated from them. Much of the material for this book has, in fact, been gleaned from his daily letters to his wife, to whom he poured out his heart on all matters. We realise that, under the patina of tartness and severity,

there was a strong human strain in Somerville. He was deeply sympathetic towards genuine hardship; he was sincerely interested in the well-being of those under him; he would take grave risks to save a stricken unit of his force, no matter how small she was. In the episodes with the French Navy, one feels that he could not entirely resist the dictates of his heart. Thus, for all his position and prestige, Admiral Somerville was a very "down-to-earth" character—if the phrase can be applied to a sailor.

V.E.B.

**Kings in the Grass Castles** by Mary Durrack. (Constable & Company, London 1959).  
Price 45sh. 399 pages.

One of the possible reasons why very few people outside Australia know very little about Australia is perhaps its remoteness from other continents and the vast stretches of ocean surrounding that continent. All the same, Australia has been a country which has attracted those imbued with a love of adventure, particularly those whose interests have centred around the exploration of new and fertile fields of development. Australia's vast expanses of grassy land have without doubt offered prospects of cattle breeding and farming. No wonder then that Australian mutton, butter and cheese have found a world market today. The 'Grass Castles' about which this book speaks are the pasture lands of Australia adjoining the South Pacific Ocean. The 'kings' are the cattle kings of Australia.

This book describes in detail the story of an Irish family, descendants of Patsy Durack whose pioneer efforts to settle in Australia brought him fame as an explorer and a famous settler in that country. One of the things which impresses the reader of this book is the extensiveness of the country, over which early settlers had to travel. The book is replete with all sorts of detail, such as pictures Victorian gentlemen, statements of accounts, letters written by parents to children and even bits of poetry, reflecting the fascination which Australia had for the minds of those who settled there.

Although the book's documentation and scholarship are beyond question, its immense variety of detail is such as to appeal to a limited number of people. The reader who is not particularly interested in stories of real-life adventure might find the book somewhat cumbersome.

WTVA

**Enemy of Rome** by Leonard Cottrell (Evans, London). Price 21sh. 219 pages.

This is a book remarkable for the manner of reconstructing military history. The author along with his wife motored (as far as that was possible) following in the tracks of Hannibal, starting from Spain, crossing the Alps, and entering Italy. Livy's 'History of Rome' and Polibius's 'Histories' which had recounted the story of Hannibal were their guide and mentors. At each of the important battles, the author takes us back, to seat us as spectators of the great drama of two thousand years ago.

As he puts it, he has tried "to record one of the greatest dramas in early histories of Europe in the actual theatre where it was enacted. There were ancillary pleasures, too; in landscape, wine, food, and people." We share the author's enjoyment in his journey. For more sobering thoughts we read his comments on the battle of Cannae:

"Seventy thousand Romans and their allies perished at the battle of Cannae.

The Carthaginians lost in all about 6,000 men killed of whom 4,000 were Celts, 1,500

Spaniards and Africans, and the remainder cavalry. The total death roll was, therefore, nearly 80,000 men. This ghastly toll of lives, the result of a few hours' fighting, is greater than the total number of men killed in the Royal Air Force throughout the First and Second World Wars. It represents just under one third of the total number of American soldiers, sailors and airmen killed in four years' fighting during the Second World War. More men were killed at the battle of Cannae than in the British Army during the murderous battle of Passchendaele in 1917, though that battle lasted four months. My earlier statement, that Hannibal's strategy at Cannae was as deadly as an atom bomb, is, therefore, not an exaggeration. No living man has seen, or ever will see, a large scale battle of the ancient type fought with sword and spear. When, in films or plays, modern actors wear the ancient weapons and armour, they usually seem unreal, "romantic" or faintly comic. When, on the cinema screen we see a "reconstruction" of some ancient conflict employing thousands of "extras", we may be awed and excited by the spectacle but are not receiving even the dimmest impression of the reality. My own belief is that it was more horrible than anything we can imagine save, perhaps by those who fought at Stalingrad or on the battlefields of Flanders."

Some of the ancient writers occasionally lift a corner of the curtain. Here is Livy, for instance, describing Cannae on the morning after the battle:

On the following day, as soon as it dawned, they set about gathering the spoils and viewing the carnage, which was shocking, even to enemies. So many thousands of Romans were lying, foot and horse promiscuously, according as accident had brought them together, either in battle or flight. Some, whom their wounds, pinched by the morning cold, had roused, as they were rising up, covered with blood, from the midst of the heaps of slain, were overpowered by the enemy.

Some too they found lying alive with their thighs and hams cut, who, laying bare their necks and throats, bid them drain the blood that remained in them. Some were found with their heads plunged into the earth, which they had excavated; having thus, as it appeared, made pits for themselves, and having suffocated themselves by overwhelming their faces with the earth which they threw over them. A living Numidian, with lacerated nose and ears, stretched beneath a lifeless Roman who lay upon him, principally attracted the attention of all: for when the Roman's hands were powerless to grasp his weapon, turning from rage to madness, had died in the act of tearing his antagonis with his teeth.

There are deft characterisations, and Hannibal and his ultimate vanquisher Scipio come easily before the mind's eye. Although a large scale map of the terrain covered by the campaigns described would have been a help, the photographs in the book do bring out the texture of the country.

What is probably of the greatest interest to the military reader is the lucid reconstruction of battles. We almost hear above the noise the galloping Numidian cavalry, their war-shouts, as they charge ahead and around, cutting down the foe as they reel back after clashing with the "swinging broad sconds of the gauls cutting ares in the air". We hear Hannibal exhorting his troops when their spirit almost fail them as they clamber hungry, tired and cold over the terrible passes through the Alps. By a trick of alchemy, in fact the application of the laws of chemistry, mountain boulders are burst assunder by fire and vinegar. Time and again we read how morale maintained.

".... When the outnumbered Carthaginians faced the Romans at Cannae, Plutarch relates one of those rare anecdotes which reveal the character of the young Carthaginian. One of his lieutenants, Gisgo, began to bewail the numbers of the

enemy, like "cousin Westmoreland" at Agincourt. Hannibal turned to him and said seriously:

"Yes, Gisgo, you are right. But there is one thing you may not have noticed.  
"What is that, Sir?" asked the puzzled officer.

Simply this; that in all that great number of men opposite there isn't a single one called Gisgo."

Gisgo's face broke into a reluctant smile. Hannibal laughed and other officers joined in the laughter. Then, Plutarch tells us, the ranks of men behind, seeing their general in such a good humour, began to laugh too, feeling his confidence both in himself and in them. They gripped their weapons and waited for the word of command."

In fact we see close up a master of his track at work.

All in all this is an enjoyable, and exciting book. May we not hope that some of our officers will follow in the footsteps of the author and reconstruct some of the battles where our men have fought, perhaps not any the less valiantly than the Carthaginians and the Romans.

A.M.S.

War in the Desert by Glubb Pasha, (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1960). Price 25sh.  
352 pages.

John Bagot Glubb first came to the land of the Bedouin in 1920, as a regular Army Officer; he remained in Arabia for nearly forty years, and left only after he was gradually manoeuvred off his pedestal as "The Pasha" of the Arab Legion following the political complexities and intrigues of King Hussein's regime. He has told us about the years as King Abdullah's chief soldier in the story of the Arab Legion; and in two subsequent books. A soldier with the Arabs and Britain and the Arabs, he has recorded his interpretation of the various political moves and motives which beset the desert kingdoms after the death of King Abdullah. In the present volume, War in the Desert, he reminisces about his early years in Arabia—and nostalgically recaptures those simpler days when the Bedouin still held sway over the Peninsula, their culture not yet strangled by political ambitions and the greed for a share in oil.

The author states that his aim in writing this book was to provide a narrative of service rendered by British forces principally the RAF, in keeping the peace in the deserts of Northern Arabia shortly after World War II when the depredations of the Wahabis and the Ikhwan were creating a reign of terror and constant massacre. But he has achieved more than that. He has provided a record of personal experience in the tradition of Kinglake, Burton, Lawrence and St. John Philby—giving us a fascinating picture both of the wild, passionate, generous, turbulent and hospitable sons of the desert and of the man who understood them. Few people writing about the affairs of a people could have been more responsive to their human energies, sympathetic to their failings and hopeful for their glories; and though it all runs a loving awareness of a magnificent landscape and a great backdrop of desert history.

The author describes in an early chapter the rise, decline and revival of the Wahabis in the 18th and 19th centuries. The history of this fanatical movement is the history of the Ibn Saud dynasty and from it sprang the later Ikhwan movement. The author's experiences in policing the desert against the Wahabis and the Ikhwan from the rest of the narrative.

But it is General Glubb's preoccupation with the Bedu that forms the fascinating leitmotiv of the book. Not only does he describe their nomadic culture,

their tribal customs and their desert inhibitions—but he also provides objective analysis from a broader view point.

He has emphasized, for instance, that the politics of Arabian potentates under the old dispensation consisted largely of attempts to seduce each other's tribes. They thought in terms of tribes, and not territory—a fact never properly appreciated by European governments, even by the Government of Iraq.

From this sprang the influence of the ibs Saud, for they were the rulers of the Bedouin wherever they were. Even Abdul Aziz, after he had signed the Treaty of Muhamarah, never really abided by its territorial implications (if he understood it at all). As far as he was concerned all the areas of the desert accessible to the nomads was under his domination.

Glubb Pasha's book is fascinating in its evocative power, and it is just as well that he ends his narrative still inside the broad sweep of desert vision, and does not drag it into the confined atmosphere of contemporary Arabia where, even in the Empty Quarter, there has been a complete transformation of nomadic life.

D.K.P.

## SECRETARY'S NOTES

### ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

I would like to thank all those members who paid their subscription so promptly at the beginning of the year.

To those of you who have not yet paid, may I remind you that your subscription was due four months ago on the 1st January. Would you please, therefore, put a cheque in the post to me TODAY. There are some members who have also to pay their subscription for 1960. They are requested to make the payment for both the years to avoid unnecessary reminders.

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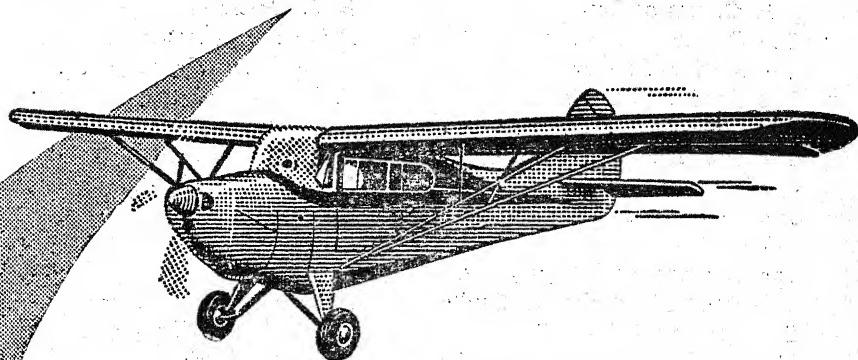
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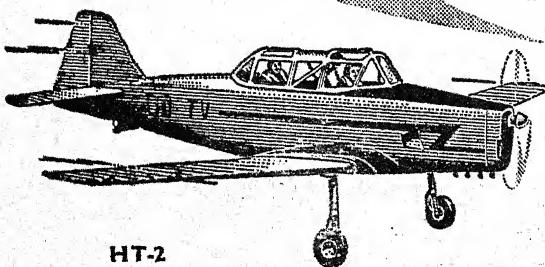
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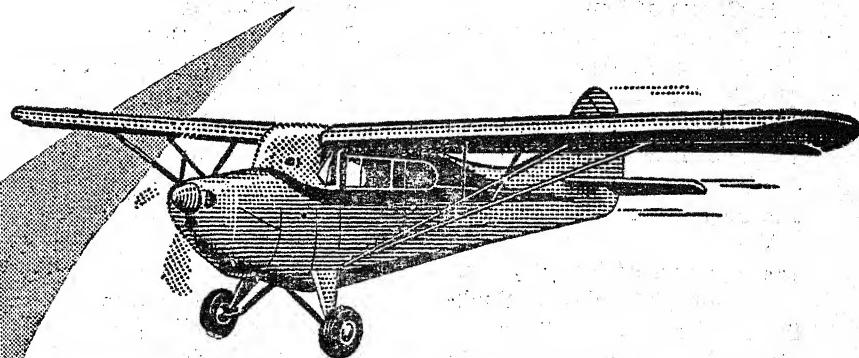
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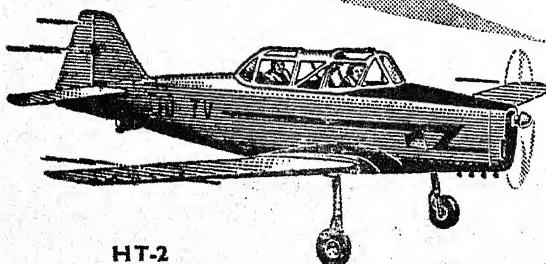
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